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Spain Western Sahara (formerly Spanish Sahara)

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30<sup>m</sup> November 1977

THIS PART CLOSED ON 14th December 1978

SUBSEQUENT CORRESPONDENCE ON FILE PART 2

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UNGA 33: PLENARY - FOURTH COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS

PLENARY ADOPTED ON 13 DECEMBER ALL RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (INCLUDING OF COURSE THE DECISION ON COCOS).

- 2. FOLLOWING ARE THE RESULTS OF THOSE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY A VOTE. FULL VOTING DETAILS WILL BE SENT BY FAX.
- (A) ITEM 24 (I) WESTERN SAHARA L.7 90 (AUSTRALI) - 10 - 39 L.8 66 (AUSTRALIA) - 30 - 40

(II) BELIZE
127 (AUSTRALIA) - 1 (SRI LANKA) - 12. AFTER THE VOTE SRI LANKA
ADVISED THAT IT HAD INADVERTENTLY PRESSED THE WRONG BUTTON., IT
SHOULD HAVE VOTED YES.

- (B) ITEM 92: INFORMATION UNDER 73 (E)
  138 (AUSTRALIA) 0 3 (FRANCE UK US)
  YOU WILL NOTE THAT GABON MOVED TO A POSITIVE VOTE.
- (C) ITEM 93: SOUTHERN RHODESIA (I) 130 - 0 - 11 (AUSTRALIA) (II) 124 - 0 - 15 (AUSTRALIA)

AFTER THE VOTE A NUMBER OF AFRICAN DELEGATES EXPRESSED REGRET AT OUR CHANGE OF VOTE. NO DELEGATION EXPLAINED ITS VOTE.

- (D) ITEM 94: TIMOR 59 - 31 (AUSTRALIA) - 44
- (E) ITEM 95: ECONOMIC INTERESTS 83 - 14 (AUSTRALIA) - 34
- (F) ITEM 96: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION 113 0 8 (AUSTRALIA) NO DELEGATION EXPLAINED ITS VOTE.

#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0 .UN13323

(G) ITEM 97: UNETPSA ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY

(H) ITEM 98: OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY

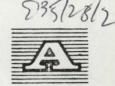
ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
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ACTION: 10

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# GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr. GENERAL

A/33/23/Add.3/Corr.1 4 December 1978

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-third session Agenda items 24 and 94

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

(covering its work during 1978)

Rapporteur: Mr. Sami GLAIEL (Syrian Arab Republic)

CHAPTERS IX-XI

WESTERN SAHARA, EAST TIMOR AND GIBRALTAR

#### Corrigendum

#### Page 3, paragraph 6

For the existing text substitute

6. In accordance with the Declaration of Principles, also known as the Madrid Agreement, a/ which it signed on 14 November 1975 with Morocco and Mauritania, Spain transferred its powers to a temporary administration comprising the then existing Spanish Governor-General and two deputy governors, one nominated by Morocco and the other by Mauritania. In accordance with the terms of that Agreement, on 26 February 1976 Spain terminated its presence in the Territory.

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# UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/33/397 28 November 1978 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Letter dated 28 November 1978 from the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of the letter which President Boumediène addressed to President Numeiry, President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, concerning the <u>ad hoc</u> Committee on Western Sahara.

On instructions from my Government, I request you to arrange for this letter to be circulated as a General Assembly document under agenda item 24.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA

Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

#### Annex

Letter dated 27 November 1978 addressed to the President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan by the President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

At a time when we are receiving information from various sources concerning the composition and the date of the next meeting of the <u>ad hoc</u> Committee entrusted with the consideration of the question of Western Sahara pursuant to the resolution adopted at the Khartoum Summit, <u>a</u>/I wish while expressing great appreciation for your unceasing personal efforts to perform the task entrusted to you by our Organization, to inform you of the views of Algeria on this subject.

Faithful to the decisions of the Organization of African Unity and sure of its ability to contribute to the search for solutions in conformity with the principles of its charter, notably with regard to decolonization and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, Algeria has always demonstrated its readiness to co-operate sincerely with all those responsible for implementing the decisions that we take.

Since last summer, proposals concerning the composition of the  $\frac{\text{ad hoc}}{\text{OAU}}$  Committee have been transmitted to us orally by yourself and by the  $\frac{\text{OAU}}{\text{OAU}}$  secretariat. Algeria has examined them with all the attention that they deserve.

Although circumstances which have not escaped your attention have not permitted us formally to express our views on this subject, I nevertheless wish today to emphasize that my country has expressed neither agreement nor disagreement with the proposals - which were, moreover, evidently exploratory in nature - because it felt that it should not formulate reservation or express any prejudice concerning any proposal in this preparatory phase of the consultations.

We consider, however, that the consultations you are currently undertaking should make it possible to reach final agreement on the composition of the <u>ad hoc</u> Committee which all parties concerned should normally support.

With regard to the date of the first meeting of the Committee, we feel it is desirable that, in view of the obligations of the Heads of State who are members of the Committee and the other Heads of State concerned, wide consultations should be held in order to make it possible to fix a definitive date. It will then be possible for all to contribute fully to a just and lasting settlement of the problem of Western Sahara.

a/ Resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV), adopted at the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978 (A/33/235, annex II).

A/33/397 English Annex Page 2

The efforts undertaken within the framework of our Organization, which it is your lofty responsibility to head on behalf of the African community, link up, needless to say, with those undertaken to the same end by the international community within the United Nations, with a view to promoting the return of peace to the region by enabling the Saharan people to exercise freely their legitimate right to self-determination.

Thus, the General Assembly of the United Nations, in the terms of its resolution 32/22 of 28 November 1977, decided to resume consideration of the question of Western Sahara at its thirty-third session. Moreover, the General Committee of the General Assembly recently approved in its agenda the discussion of this question under agenda item 24, allocated to the Fourth Committee, which is to hear the representative of the Frente Polisario and consider the report of the Decolonization Committee on the question of Western Sahara. b/

The consideration of the question of Western Sahara by the United Nations is, moreover, strictly in conformity with the resolution of the Khartoum Summit which states expressly in paragraph 7 that the United Nations remains seized of the decolonization problem of Western Sahara.

Consequently, I am sure you will understand our surprise at learning that the OAU secretariat recently addressed to its representative in New York a message in which it expresses, for the benefit of the African Group, the hope that the United Nations will avoid considering the question of Western Sahara, which has nevertheless officially been included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly in the circumstances recalled above.

Algeria cannot but deplore such an initiative, which is not only contrary to the provisions of the resolutions of the United Nations and OAU, but also to the new spirit that we are constantly fostering in order to ensure the progress, through dialogue and harmonization, of the efforts of all aimed at a political solution of the current crisis.

In this connexion I should like to recall the consistent efforts of Algeria to contribute to the implementation of the resolution on the question of Western Sahara adopted by the thirteenth African Summit, held at Port-Louis in 1976, and the complete readiness which my country has constantly expressed on that subject and which we mentioned to you in our letter of 21 May last, whereas the African leaders have not forgotten the systematic obstruction by Morocco at the Lomé Conference in 1977 of all efforts undertaken by OAU and the United Nations to find, within the African context, a peaceful and just solution to the question of Western Sahara.

We are sure you will use all the authority conferred on you by your high office to dissipate the misunderstandings and ambiguities which may jeopardize a climate which we, for our part, wish to preserve in a debate which more than ever before requires clarity, sincerity and goodwill on the part of all.

b/ A/33/23/Add.3, chap. IX.

At a time when Algeria, despite itself, is the focus of the attention of the entire international community, the least I can do, without making a value judgement, is to record our most formal reservations concerning the method which attempts are currently being made to apply with a view to implementing the resolutions of OAU and the United Nations concerning a serious decolonization problem.

While reiterating our readiness to co-operate with you in every way, we remain convinced that, in your wisdom, you will thus make an outstanding contribution to the attainment of an equitable and definitive solution to a painful decolonization problem which threatens the peace and security of a region whose history and culture call for co-operation and brotherhood.

(Signed) Houari BOUMEDIENE

President of the People's

Democratic Republic of Algeria

President of the Council

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UNGA 33 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : WESTERN SAHARA

AN ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE BY THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP, LED BY SRI LANKA AND INDIA, TO PRODUCE A COMPROMISE TEXT ON WESTERN SAHARA. A WORKING PAPER HAS BEEN PREPARED, BASED PRIMARILY ON THE KHARTOUM RESOLUTION AND ON LAST YEAR'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION. INDICAT-IONS TO DATE HOWEVER ARE THAT ALGERIA IS CONFIDENT THAT IT HAS INCREASED SUPPORT THIS YEAR AND WILL ACCORDINGLY PRESS FOR THE ADOPTION OF ITS OWN DRAFT (L.7 REV.1).

2. WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER FOREIGN MINISTER MIN+DEP DEFENCE DEP P M AND CABINET ANO

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UNGA 33 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : WESTERN SAHARA

FOLLOWING ARE VOTING PATTERNS ON THE TWO RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE FOURTH COMMITTEE ON WESTERN SAHARA :

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### INMARD CABLEGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS



#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

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ACTION: IO AME

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UNGA 33: FOURTH COMMITTEE - RESOLUTIONS

FOURTH COMMITTEE CONCLUDED ITS PROGRAM OF WORK ON 5 DECEMBER. FOLLOWING ARE DETAILS OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED:-

ITEM 97 - UNETSPA

ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY.

ITEM 24:

- (A) WESTERN SAHARA
- (1) THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTIONS WAS ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 86 (AUSTRALIA) - 11 - 39
- (11) THE MOROCCON RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA WAS ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 61 (AUSTRALIA) - 25 - 45. VOTING RECORDS ON BOTH RESOLUTIONS HAVE BEEN FORWARDED BY FAX.
- (B) AMERICAN SAMOA ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY
- (C) NEW HEBRIDES ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY
- (D) GUAM

ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY. CHINA SPOKE BEFORE THE VOTE STATING THAT WHILE IT WOULD SUPPORT THE RESOLUTION IT WAS CONSTRAINED TO REITERATE ITS OPPOSITION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY BASES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. AFTER ADOPTION OF THE TEXT THE SOVIET UNION ALSO EXPRESSED "SERIOUS RESERVATIONS" WITH THE PARAGRAPH ON MILITARY BASES, BUT SAID THAT IT HAD NOT OBJECTED TO THE ADOPTION OF THE TEXT AS IT WAS, IN THE MAIN, CONSISTENT WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF 24. IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE VOTING COSTA RICA JOINED AS A COSPONSOR OF THE TEXT.

- (E) US VIRGIN ISLANDS ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY
- BELIZEAN TEXT WAS ADOPTED 116 (AUSTRALIA) 5 12.
- (II) THE GUATEMALAN RESOLUTION WAS REJECTED BY A VOTE OF 15 - 82 (AUSTRALIA) - 33
- (C) BERMUDA ET AL RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY
- THE COMMITTEE AGREED TO DEFER CONSIDERATION OF THIS ITEM.
- (1) PITCAIRN THE COMMITTEE AGREED TO POSTPONE ITS CONSIDERATION UNTIL
- (J) FALKLAND (MALVINAS)

THE COMMITTEE AGREED TO POSTPONE ITS CONSIDERATION UNTIL

- ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY
- (F) BELIZE
- (I) BELIZEAN TEXT WAS ADOPTED 116 (AUSTRALIA) 5 12.
  (II) THE GUATEMALAN RESOLUTION WAS REJECTED BY A VOTE OF
- (C) BERMUDA ET AL

RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY

15 - 82 (AUSTRALIA) - 33

- (H) BRUNE:
  THE COMMITTEE AGREED TO DEFER CONSIDERATION OF THIS ITEM.
- (1) PITCAIRN
  THE COMMITTEE AGREED TO POSTPONE ITS CONSIDERATION UNTIL
  UNGA 34.
- (J) FALKLAND (MALVINAS)

  THE COMMITTEE AGREED TO POSTPONE ITS CONSIDERATION UNTIL UNGA 34.
- (K) GILBERT ISLANDS

  FIJI AND THE UNITED KINGDOM WERE UNABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT
  ON A FORMULATION THAT WOULD HAVE ALLOWED THE COMMITTEE TO ADOPT
  UNANIMOUSLY A RESOLUTION ON THE GILBERTS. AFTER BRITISH
  REPRESENTATIONS IN SUVA, FIJIANS AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT THEY
  WOULD NOT/NOT OPPOSE DEFERRMENT. ACCORDINGLY, AND IN OUR
  CAPACITY AS RAPPORTEUR OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE, WE PROPOSED FROM
  THE FLOOR THAT THE COMMITTEE SHOULD DEFER TAKING A DECISION
  ON THE GILBERS AND THAT THE ITEM SHOULD BE KEPT UNDER REVIEW
  BY THE COMMITTEE OF 24. THIS PROPOSAL WAS ACCEPTED BY THE
  COMMITTEE WITHOUT DISCUSSION. ALTHOUGH WE HAD WANTED THE
  PROPOSAL TO BE MADE BY THE CHAIR, EAST EUROPEANS INSISTED THAT
  IT SHOULD COME FROM THE FLOOR.
- (L) ASSOCIATED STATES

  THE COMMITTEE AGREED TO POSTPONE ITS CONSIDERATION OF THESE TERRITORIES UNTIL UNGA 34.

ITEM 92: INFORMATION UNDER 73E

RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 128 (AUSTRALIA) - 0

- 4 (UNITED KINGDOM, UNITED STATES, FRANCE AND GABON).

ITEM 96: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION

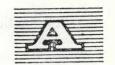
AS WE WERE UNABLE TO RESPOND TO YOUR O.CH771496 BEFORE
THE ITEM WAS VOTED ON WE ABSTAINED, EXPLAINING OUR ABSTENTION
ON THE LINES OF OUR STATEMENT FORWARDED IN O.UN13039, ADDING
THAT BUT FOR THE INCLUSION OF PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH 5, WE
WOULD HAVE VOTED IN FAVOUR OF THE RESOLUTION. THE RESOLUTION
WAS ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 124 - 0 - 8 (AUSTRALIA, CANADA, FRG,
FRANCE, ISRAEL, GUATEMALA, UNITED KINGDOM, UNITED STATES).

ITEM 94: QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR
RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 55 - 29 (AUSTRALIA)
- 42. FULL VOTING PARTICULARS HAVE BEEN FORWARDED BY FAX.
WE SPOKE BEFORE THE VOTE. WE HAVE ALSO FORWARDED BY FAX
TEXTS OF THE STATEMENTS OF CANADA AND SWEDEN. YOU WILL NOTE
THAT, NOTWITHSTANDING THE ADVICE FORWARDED IN 0.UN13110, SWEDEN
VOTED IN FAVOUR OF THE TEXT.

XC. 0.UN13139 1940 5.12.78 2638 103/3/4 33 5 97 24 86 - 11 - 39 61 - 25 - 45 24 116 - 5 - 12 15 - 82 - 33 34 34 24 34 92 73E 128 - 0 - 4 96 0.CH771496 0.UN13039 5 124 - 0 - 8 94 55 - 29 - 42 0.UN131100

CM.

935/28/2



# UNTED NATIONS

# GENERAL



Distr.
LIMITED

A/C.4/33/L.8/Rev.1 24 November 1978 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session FOURTH COMMITTEE Agenda item 24



IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

#### Question of Western Sahara

Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Guatemala, Jordan, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Senegal and Zaire: revised draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

Recalling its relevant resolutions and those of the Organization of African Unity concerning the question of Western Sahara,

Considering the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara, 1/

Considering also the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc Committee of Heads of State to consider the data on the question of Western Sahara, 2/

Recalling the part of the Political Declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, relating to Western Sahara, 3/

<sup>1/</sup> See A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.

<sup>2/</sup> A/33/235, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).

<sup>3/</sup> A/31/197, annex I, para. 35.

Taking note of the appeal addressed to States Members of the United Nations by the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, contained in document A/33/364,

Recalling its resolution 32/19 of 11 November 1977, regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

- 1. Takes note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc Committee of Heads of State:
- 2. Expresses its confidence that the <u>ad hoc</u> Committee will consider all the data on the question of Western Sahara with a view to convening an extraordinary summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity;
- 3. <u>Invites</u> the Organization of African Unity to take prompt action to find a just and equitable settlement of the question of Western Sahara;
- 4. Appeals to all States in the region to refrain from any action that might impede the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the problem;
- 5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the results achieved by the <u>ad hoc</u> Committee and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report thereon.



# UN ED NATIONS

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
LIMITED

A/C.4/33/L.7/Rev.1 24 November 1978 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 24



IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

#### Question of Western Sahara

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Togo, United Republic of Tanzania and Viet Nam: revised draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Having heard the statements made on the subject of Western Sahara before the Fourth Committee, including the statement by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro,

Recalling the conclusions of the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Western Sahara dated 11 November 1975, 2/

<sup>1/</sup> A/33/23/Add.3.

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/10023/Rev.1), chap. XIII, annex.

Recalling the advisory opinion delivered by the International Court of Justice on 16 October 1975 3/ on the question of Western Sahara, particularly in relation to the principle of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination,

Bearing in mind the profound concern of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries regarding the decolonization of Western Sahara and the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination,

Recalling its resolution 32/19 of 11 November 1977 regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

Recalling the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara,  $\frac{1}{4}$ 

Taking note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity 5/ at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc Committee to consider all the data of the question of Western Sahara, including the exercise of the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination,

Reiterating the fervent hope that, by the time of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the Organization of African Unity will have found, pursuant to the resolutions which it adopted at its thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth ordinary sessions 6/ on the question of Western Sahara, a solution to this problem in accordance with the right of peoples to self-determination set forth in resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations,

Welcoming the unilateral cease-fire decision taken on 12 July 1978 by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro, with a view to promoting a drive towards peace in Western Sahara,

- 1. Reaffirms its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
- 2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence;

<sup>3/</sup> Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975.

<sup>4/</sup> A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.

<sup>5/</sup> A/33/235, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).

 $<sup>\</sup>underline{6}$ / A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, A/32/310, annex II, and A/33/235, annex II.

3. Reaffirms the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to the decolonization of Western Sahara, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

EN ED NATIONS

- 4. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to keep developments in this matter under active review for the purpose of the full and speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and to report to the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session;
- 5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara;

Revelling the conclusions of the return of the father Sations Visiting Manton to Mastern Visiting Station

6. <u>Invites</u> the Secretary-General to submit a report on the question of Western Sahara to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.

935/28/2



## UNDED NATIONS

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.

A/C.4/33/L.7 21 November 1978 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

### Question of Western Sahara and greater to goldens and

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Togo and United Republic of Tanzania: draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Having heard the statements made on the subject of Western Sahara before the Fourth Committee, including the statement by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro,

Recalling the conclusions of the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Western Sahara dated 11 November 1975, 2/

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/10023/Rev.1), chap. XIII, annex.

A/C.4/33/L.7 English Page 2

Recalling the advisory opinion delivered by the International Court of Justice on 16 October 1975 3/ on the question of Western Sahara, particularly in relation to the principle of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination,

Bearing in mind the profound concern of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries regarding the decolonization of Western Sahara and the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination,

ED NATIONS

Recalling its resolution 32/19 of 11 November 1977 regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

Recalling the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara, 4/

Taking note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity 5/ at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc Committee to consider all the data of the question of Western Sahara, including the exercise of the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination,

Welcoming the unilateral cease-fire decision taken on 12 July 1978 by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro, with a view to promoting a drive towards peace in Western Sahara,

- 1. Reaffirms its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
- 2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence;
- 3. Reaffirms the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to the decolonization of Western Sahara, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

<sup>3/</sup> Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975.

<sup>4/</sup> A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.

<sup>5/</sup> A/33/235, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).

- 4. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to keep developments in this matter under active review for the purpose of the full and speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and to report to the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session;
- 5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara;
- 6. <u>Invites</u> the Secretary-General to submit a report on the question of Western Sahara to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.

935/28/2



# UNTED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr. LIMITED

A/C.4/33/L.8 21 November 1978 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session FOURTH COMMITTEE Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

#### Question of Western Sahara

Egypt, Gambia, Guatemala, Jordan, Mauritius, Oman, Senegal and Zaire: draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Recalling its relevant resolutions and those of the Organization of African Unity concerning the question of Western Sahara,

Considering the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara, 1/

Considering also the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish and ad hoc Committee of Heads of State to consider the data on the question of Western Sahara, 2/

Recalling the part of the Political Declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, relating to Western Sahara, 3/

<sup>1/</sup> See A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.

<sup>2/</sup> A/33/235, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).

<sup>3/</sup> A/31/197, annex I, para. 35.

A/C/4/33/L.8 English Page 2

Taking note of the appeal addressed to States Members of the United Nations by the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, contained in document A/33/364,

Recalling its resolution 32/19 of 11 November 1977, regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

- 1. Takes note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Knartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc Committee of Heads of State;
- 2. Trusts in the ad hoc Committee to consider all the data on the question of Western Sahara;
- 3. Appeals to all States in the region to refrain from any action that might impede the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the problem;
- 4. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the results achieved by the ad hoc Committee, and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report thereon.

# OUTWARD CABLEGRAM 935/28/2

0. CH 768995 LH3/MD

0. CH768995 1735 29.11.78 CLA

TO. PP NEW YORK UN/2910

FM. CANBERRA / FILE 935/28/2 REF 0.UN12921, UN12947, CH768435

CONFIDENTIAL

UNGA 33: FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 24 - WESTERN SAHARA

THE MINISTER HAS DECIDED THAT YOU SHOULD VOTE IN FAVOUR OF BOTH L.7 AND L.8.

2. YOU SHOULD HOWEVER KEEP US POSTED ON DEVELOPMENTS.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER FOREIGN MINISTER MIN AND DEP DEFENCE DEP P M AND CABINET ONA JIO

ACTION: 10

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO LA FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS(WES) ASP AME FAS(DEF) DP DC INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) IL FAS(MFS) FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR) FAS(LT) IL FAS(MFS) FAR EP (SM) ADAB(DIR)

CONFIDENTIAL

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS linisterial Submission

Division/Division Head -

IOC DIVISION/M.J. DAN (A/g)

Action PAUL SMITH (IO)

SUBJECT - UNGA 33 : WESTERN SAHARA

PURPOSE

To seek your instructions on two draft resolutions on the Western Sahara. The first (L.7) is an Algerian draft; the second (L.8) is pro Moroccan. Both texts are attached.

ISSUES

At UNGA 32 (1977), a short compromise resolution was adopted by consensus.

- Australia has no interest in becoming involved in the debate. Our vote however, will be watched - notably by the Algerians, who have made representations to the Prime Minister urging us to support the "Saharan people's right to self-determination".
- The repeated references in the Algerian draft to "self-determination" contrast with the more deliberate references to the "question of Western Sahara" in the pro-Moroccan draft. We think however that we can vote in favour of both texts. If we abstained on the Algerian draft, we might then need also to abstain on the Moroccan draft in order to maintain our own even-handed approach on the Saharan question. And we would not wish not to vote in favour of the Moroccan draft since it is cast in very mild terms, "appealing to all States in the region to refrain from any action that might impede the efforts of the OAU to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the problem". (The OAU will be hard put to achieve this given the strength of feeling of the Moroccans and Algerians. Several efforts to hold the OAU Summit on the question have already failed.)

Our New York delegation reports that while WEOs are inclined to support both texts, there is a move by the Nine towards abstention on both texts and the U.S. will vote in favour of the Moroccan text and abstain on the Algerian. We would prefer not to seek to differentiate between the textsor the protagenists - in this way.

Recommendations

We recommend that Australia vote in favour of both 6. texts.

(Malcolm Dan)

A/q First Assistant Secretary International Organisations and Consular Division

ONFIDENTIAL

# INWARD CABLEGRAM 935/28/2

0.UN12981 LDF11/DA TOR 1548 29.11.78

O. UN12981 2105 28.11.78 CLA

PP CANBERRA/2490

FM. NEW YORK UN / FILE 103/3/4, 351/1, 412/1

RESTRICTED

UNGA 33 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : WESTERN SAHARA

AN ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE BY THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP, LED BY SRI LANKA AND INDIA, TO PRODUCE A COMPROMISE TEXT ON WESTERN SAHARA. A WORKING PAPER HAS BEEN PREPARED, BASED PRIMARILY ON THE KHARTOUM RESOLUTION AND ON LAST YEAR'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION. INDICAT-IONS TO DATE HOWEVER ARE THAT ALGERIA IS CONFIDENT THAT IT HAS INCREASED SUPPORT THIS YEAR AND WILL ACCORDINGLY PRESS FOR THE ADOPTION OF ITS OWN DRAFT (L.7 REV. 1).

2. WE WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER FOREIGN MINISTER MIN+DEP DEFENCE DEP P M AND CABINET ONA JIO

LLI LLI

ACTION: 10

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO L A FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS (WES) EUR AME FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(IOC) INF FAS(LT) FAS(PCR) GL T IL FAS (MFS) ADAB (DIR)

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## INWARD CABLEGRAM

O. AL2822 LFF6/TMCG TOR 1815 27.11.78

0. AL2822 1815 27.11.78 CLA

TO. RR CANBERRA/2024

RP. RR NEW YORK UN/139 PARIS EMB/632 NAIROBI/19 RR MADRID/108

M. ALGIERS / REF O. CH764515

CONFIDENTIAL

WESTERN SAHARA

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concepade no

THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENE'S REVOLUTION LETTER WAS HANDED OVER TO DIRECTOR ASIAN DIVISION (YADI) ON 26 NOVEMBER. I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN OUR DIFFICULTIES OVER CO-SPONSORSHIP OF ANY RESOLUTION ON THIS SUBJECT IN THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

YADI SAID THAT OUR REASONS WERE UNDERSTOOD, AND THAT THEY WERE GRATEFUL FOR FIRM ASSURANCES IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY THAT WE REGARDED SELF-DETERMINATION AS A NECESSARY PART OF THE DECOLONISATION PROCESS. HE SAID THAT THERE WERE NOW TWO COMPETING DRAFT RESOLUTIONS BEING CIRCULATED AT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY., ONE CO-SPONSORED BY ALGERIA AND ABOUT 20 OTHER COUNTRIES CALLING FOR FURTHER COMMITTEE STUDIES OF ISSUES AND REPORTS TO BE SUBMITTED TOGETHER WITH OAU RECOMMENDATIONS TO NEXT SESSION., AND SECOND RESOLUTION SPONSORED BY FIVE COUNTRIES INCLUDING EGYPT AND ZAIRE, CALLING FOR SUSPENSION OF UNITED NATIONS CONSIDERATION WHILE MATTER WAS BEFORE THE OAU AH HOC COMMITTEE.

3. YADI COMMENTED THAT ALGERIANS STRONGLY SUPPORTED OAU CONSIDER-ATION BUT ITS TRACK WAS NOT GOOD AND DELAYS AND DIVERSION COULD BE EXPECTED. THE UNITED NATIONS, IN THE IR VIEW, HAD CLEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DE-COLONISATION PROCESS WHICH SHOULD NOT BE NEGLIGIBLY BANKED ON. THE SECOND RESOLUTION WAS OBVIOUSLY A DELAYING MANOEUVER BY MOROCCO AND SUPPORTERS AND HE HOPED WE WOULD NOT SUPPORT IT, AND WOULD VOTE FOR THE CURRENT RESOLUTION. I COMMENTED THAT ALTHOUGH I HAD SEEN THE TEXTS WE WOULD HAVE SYMPATHY FOR THE IDEA OF GIVING THE ENTERPRISE AS APPROPRIATE REGIONAL BODY, A CENTRAL ROLE IN RESOLVING THE DISPUTE. I AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS WOULD NOT NECESSARILY EXCLUDE CONTINUING CONSIDERATION AND UNDERTOOK TO REFER HIS REPRESENTATION TO CANBERRA AND NEW YORK.

#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

2 - AL2822

4. GRATEFUL CABLE ADVICE ON OUR FINAL VOTING POSITION IF POSSIBLE TUNITED NATIONSL GENERAL ASSEMBLY

.... PIPER

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP PM AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: IO AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO FAS(WES) ASP EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR) FAS(ECO) EO FAS(LT) FAS(MFS) FAREP(SM) ADAB(DIR)

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#### **OUTWARD CABLEGRAM**

0. CH 76 8995 LH3/MD

O. CH768995 1735 29.11.78 CLA

TO.
PP NEW YORK UN/2910

FM. CANBERRA / FILE 935/28/2 REF 0.UN12921, UN12947, CH768435

CONFIDENTIAL

UNGA 33: FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 24 - WESTERN SAHARA

THE MINISTER HAS DECIDED THAT YOU SHOULD VOTE IN FAVOUR OF BOTH L.7 AND L.8.

2. YOU SHOULD HOWEVER KEEP US POSTED ON DEVELOPMENTS.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN AND DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: 10

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO LA FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA)
FAS(WES) ASP AME FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR)
INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) IL FAS(MFS) FAREP(SM) ADAB(DIR)

S.H. BAG NO 41 EF 935/28/2

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FILE COPY

DATE 26 October 1978

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SUBJECT. LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENE

We should be grateful if you would arrange delivery of the attached letter from the Prime Minister to President Boumediene as soon as possible.

- 2. We apologise for the delay in dispatching the letter to you. Although President Boumediene's letter was delivered to the Prime Minister on 14 July, we did not receive a draft of the Prime Minister's reply/the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet until the first week of September despite repeated urgings on our part. The draft letter had to be substantially and carefully redrafted in the Department and was returned to the Department of Prime Minister & Cabinet on 8 September again with a written request that the Prime Minister's approval be obtained without further delay.
- 3. The final reply which we received only yesterday not only did not give the President his correct title but also omits an important paragraph we had inserted in our draft teply on French intervention in Africa. However, in view of the delays already experienced in regard to the letter we have thought it best not to contest the reply and are forwarding it forthwith.

(I. Schultz)
Middle East/North Africa Section

RESTRUTES

2 3 0 0 7 1978

er ir iredicat,

ised to your letter on outers where which your present envey, laborated recall book wir book to the laister for Poreign Ifairs, the one were barack, when they not on 13 July. I had sped to rect basedor must during his brist visit to takers. It, enfortunately, prior consituents reveated a read daing no.

the deterioration of the situation is bothcentern friends, is particular, the situation in
center of the school is a matter for general concern.
The maturial forester especially regrets the suffering
broth for the salara copie as a result of the conflict
over cot in a lara and the missen refuges reblem
that has arised in Ageria.

ambitalia, as a number of the builted Vations amoral secubly Committee of Scenty-Pour, fully en orses the crisciple that self-determination is a accusary sert of the decolorization process. To share your wish to use, as soon as amorbie, a just and conformity with the richlet part objectives of the toited fations or ecolonization.

The lyon for your courtes; in bringing this important watter to my attention and for a practic settlement to the dispute.

Please accept, or 'resident, the assurance of my

X. Mr. TT ATT

(sulcola Preser)

H.E. Honsieur Houari Boumediene, President of the Republic of Algeria,

114 1

11 10

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Faithful to the traditional consultations that have always been held between our two countries, I would like to refer to the problems facing our region and especially to point out the concern arising from the recent deterioration of the situation in the Western Sahara.

In fact, the future of this territory, as of all other colonised territories, has always depended on the decolonisation doctrine as defined by the United Nations Organisation and contained in Resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonised countries and peoples.

It is indeed on this basis that the issue has been constantly considered within both international and regional organisations and all decisions taken by the relevant bodies, whether the United Nations General Assembly, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement or the International Court of Justice, provide for the settlement of the issue through the free consultation of the Saharan people. The acceptance of this process by the international community, including the neighbouring countries and the administering power itself, gave rise to the hope that the Saharan people, like all others under colonial domination, were at last going to be able to exercise freely their right to self-determination.

But the invasion of the Saharan territory by the armed forces of two neighbouring countries, Morocco and Mauritania, apart from being a flagrant violation of a unanimously recognised right, was a dangerous deviation from the course of decolonisation and provoked tension in the North-Western part of Africa. Thus, the Governments of Morocco and Mauritania, by rejecting the commitments solemnly entered into with the international community, took on a heavy responsibility in the new colonial war waged against the Saharan people, threatening the stability, security and independence of the countries of the region.

It is now clear that despite the considerable military machinery mobilised by their aggressors to break down their determination to resist, the Saharan people have, through their unrelenting fight and enormous sacrifices, succeeded in annihilating the joint Moroccan and Mauritanian policy of expansion and hegemony. Thus, the failure of the fait accompli policy stresses more than ever the necessity and urgency of a peaceful solution, in conformity with the right of peoples and the requirements of security, independence and cooperation of all the countries in the region.

It was precisely in this international and regional context, while all efforts, especially those of the Organisation of African Unity were converging to seek a formula responding to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter, that direct intervention against the Saharan people by French armed forces falsified a decolonisation issue by giving it the dimensions and seriousness of an operation serving a strategy of colonial re-conquest.

Coming after the political, diplomatic and military support that France has continually given to Morocco and Mauritania, while officially proclaiming its neutrality in the conflict and recognising the Saharan people's right to self-determination, the direct military commitment of French armed forces in the Western Sahara marks a new level in escalation and lays bare aggressive designs on the freedom of peoples and the independence of the countries of the region.

By intervening in an issue which the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity are entitled to deal with, and for which both organisations are actively seeking settlement, France is infringing upon its obligations as a permanent member of the Security Council, is deliberately stirring up a hotbed of tension in a sensitive area of Africa and the Mediterranean and is postponing the prospects of a just and lasting solution of the Western Sahara issue.

I am convinced that you share our legitimate concerns and that you will not hesitate, in this serious situation, and indeed to preserve peace and security, to use your high authority to discourage such interventions in order to prevent this part of Africa from becoming involved in a dangerous series of tensions and confrontations whose consequences are unforeseeable.

Please accept, Mr. Prime Minister, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Houari BOUMEDIENE

# OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

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O.CH768435 1911 28.11.78 CLA

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FM. CANBERRA / FILE 935/28/2 REF 0.UN12921, 0.UN12947

CONFIDENTIAL

UNGA 33: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 24 - WESTERN SAHARA

WE ARE SEEKING INSTRUCTIONS ON OUR VOTE ON L.7 AND L.8 AND WILL INFORM YOU IMMEDIATELY A DECISION IS MADE.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER FOREIGN MINISTER MIN AND DEP DEFENCE DEP P M AND CABINET ONA JIO

ACTION: 10

DEPSECS EX FAS(WES) ASP FAS (DEF) AME FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR) INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) FAS(MFS) FAREP(S -M) ADAB(DIR) FAS(BP) FAS(PTO)

10th 10 m / m.J. Dan (Arting) Pane Smith (10) 935/26/2

MINISTERIAL SUBMISSION
UNGA 33: WESTERN SAHARA

CONFIDE PASSIBLE

PURPOSE

Western Sahara. The first (L.7) is an Algerian draft; the second (L.8) is pro-Morrocan. both talk as stocked.

ISSUES

- 2. At UNGA 32 (1977), a short compromise resolution was adopted by consensus.
- 3. While Australia has no interest in becoming involved in the debate. Our vote will be watched notably by the Algerians, who have made representations to the Prime Minister urging us to support the "Saharan people's right to self-determination".

The repeated references in the Algerian draft to "self-

determination" contrast with the more deliberate references

to the "question of Western Sahara" in the pro-Morgocan

We find Amount for an can the food took

draft. Nevertheless we do not think that an abstention would

be consistent with our long-standing support for self-deter
mination. If we abstained on the Algerian draft, then we would

need also to abstain on the Morgocan draft to our own

even-handed approach on the Saharan question. And we would

not wish to vote in favour of the Morgocan draft since it is cost

in very mild terms, f appealant to all States in the region to

refrain from any action which might impede the OAU from finding

a just and peaceful solution to the problem". (The OAU will be

hard put to achieve this given the strength of feeling of the

Morrocans and Algerians on their respective positions. Several efforts to hold the OAU Summit on the question have already failed).

5. However, the delegation reports that while WEOs are inclined to support both texts, there is a move towards abstention by the Nine and the U.S. WXXX will voted in favour of the Morrocans text and abstain on the Algerian. We would hugh not how had to take a differential behine. It tests - or he paraming - in this way.

RECOMMENDATIONS 6. We recommend that Australia vote in favour of both texts.

XAF /56

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FM. NEW YORK U.N./FILE: 103/3/4

UNCLASSIFIED

UNGA 33 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 24 : WESTERH SANARA

FOLLOWING ARE REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON WESTERN SAHARA. OUR COMMENTS FOLLOW BY CABLE.

> Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Togo, United Republic of Tanzania and Viet Nam: revised draft resolution

The General Assembly.

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Having heard the statements made on the subject of Western Sabara before the Fourth Committee, including the statement by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro,

Recalling the conclusions of the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Western Sahara dated 11 November 1975, 2/

YAF 157

# 2-6.UN 12947

Recalling the advisory opinion delivered by the International Court of Justice on 16 October 1975 3/ on the question of Western Sahara, particularly in relation to the principle of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination,

Bearing in mind the profound concern of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries regarding the decolonization of Western Sahara and the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination,

Recalling its resolution 32/19 of 11 November 1977 regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

Recalling the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara, 4/

Taking note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity 5/ at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc Committee to consider all the data of the question of Western Sahara, including the exercise of the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination,

Reiterating the fervent hope that, by the time of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the Organization of African Unity will have found, pursuant to the resolutions which it adopted at its thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth ordinary sessions 6/ on the question of Western Sahara, a solution to this problem in accordance with the right of peoples to self-determination set forth in resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations,

Welcoming the unilateral cease-fire decision taken on 12 July 1978 by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro, with a view to promoting a drive towards peace in Western Sahara,

- 1. Reaffirms its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
- 2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence;

# 3-0UN 12947

# XAF 158

- 3. Reaffirms the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to the decolonization of Western Sahara, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- 4. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to keep developments in this matter under active review for the purpose of the full and speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and to report to the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session;
- 5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara;
- 6. Invites the Secretary-General to submit a report on the question of Western Sahara to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.

Egypt Cabon, Gambia, Guatemala, Jordan, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco Oman, Qatar Senegal and Zaire: revised draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

Recalling its relevant resolutions and those of the Organization of African Unity concerning the question of Western Sahara,

Considering the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara, 1/

Considering also the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc Committee of Heads of State to consider the data on the question of Western Sahara, 2/

Recalling the part of the Political Declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, relating to Western Sahara, 3/

4-0UN 12947

# XAF 159

Taking note of the appeal addressed to States Members of the United Nations by the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, contained in document A/33/364,

Recalling its resolution 32/19 of 11 November 1977, regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

- l. Takes note of the decision of the Accombly of Heads of Ctate and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc Committee of Heads of State:
- 2. Expresses its confidence that the ad hoc Committee will consider all the data on the question of Western Sahara with a view to convening an extraordinary summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity;
- 3. <u>Invites</u> the Organization of African Unity to take prompt action to find a just and equitable settlement of the question of Western Sahara;
- 4. Appeals to all States in the region to refrain from any action that might impede the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the problem;
- 5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the results achieved by the ad hoc Committee and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report thereon.

ENDS.

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O.UN12921 1705 27.11.78 CLA

TO. 11 CANBERRA/2430

FM. NEW YORK UN / FILE 103/3/4

CONFIDENTIAL

UNGA 33 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 24 - WESTERN SAHARA

WE HAVE FORWARDED BY FAX REVISED TEXTS OF BOTH L.7 AND L.8. THE AMENDMENTS HAVE IN FACT MADE IT EASIER FOR US TO VOTE IN FAVOUR OF BOTH.

2. AT THE PRESENT, NEW ZEALAND, NORDICS AND AUSTRIA PROPOSE TO VOTE IN FAVOUR OF BOTH TEXTS. THERE IS AN EMERGING TREND IN THE EC9 TO ABSTAIN ON BOTH TEXTS. THE UNITED STATES WILL VOTE IN FAVOUR OF L.8 AND WILL PROBABLY ABSTAIN ON L.7.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN AND DEP DEFENCE
DEP PM AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: 10

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS(WES) ASP AME FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR) INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) FAS(MFS) FAREP(S-M)
ADAB(DIR)

CONFIDENTIAL



# OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

0. CH 767200 JPG 12/CAB

0. CH767200 1724 24.11.78 CLA

TO. RR NEW YORK UN/2859

RP. BB ALGIERS/155 NAIROBI/273 PARIS EMB/4823 BB MADR ID / 096

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CONFIDENTIAL

UNGA 33: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 24 - WESTERN\_S

WE WOULD HOPE TO BE ABLE TO VOTE IN FAVOUR OF BOTH DRAFTS. OPERATIVE PARA 2 OF L.7 IS, OF COURSE, STANDARD DE-COLONIZATION TEXT EVEN IF IT DOES, AS YOU SAY, TEND TO PRE-JUDICE THE OUTCOME OF A SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS. WE ALSO AGREE THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR YOU NOT TO MAKE ANY STATEMENT OR EXPLANATION OF VOTE.

2. PLEASE CONTINUE TO CANVASS WEOG VOTING INTENTIONS AND LET US HAVE A FURTHER REPORT BEFORE WE CONFIRM VOTING INSTRUCTIONS.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER FOREIGN MINISTER MIN AND DEP DEFENCE DEP PM AND CABINET ONA JIO

Send corrections

# OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

0.CH767200

ACTION: IO

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO LA FAS(SEP) SEA FAS(NSA)
FAS(WES) EUR AME FAS(DEF) FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR)
INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) GLT IL FAS(MFS) FAREP(S-M)
AD AB Ø IR)

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0.UN12851 1930 22.11.78 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/2361

FM. NEW YORK UN / REF O.UN 12811

CONFIDENTIAL

UNGA 33: 4TH COMMITTEE : ITEM 24 : WESTERN SAHARA

REFTEL CONTAINS TEXTS OF TWO DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON WESTERN SAHARA.

- 2. THE ALGERIAN DRAFT (L.7) IS MODERATE IN TONE AND TAKES NOTE IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE OAU SUMMIT DECISION TO SET UP AN AD HOC COMMITTEE. IT GOES BEYOND LAST YEAR'S COMPROMISE RESOLUTION, HOWEVER, IN THAT OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 2 "REAFFIRMS THE INALIFNABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE" (UNDERLINE TWO) A FORMULA WHICH PREJUDGES THE OUTCOME OF SELF-DETERMINATION ALTHOUGH WE HAVE ACCEPTED IT IN OTHER CONTEXTS.
- 3. THE TERMS OF THE PRO-MOROCCAN DRAFT (L.8) ARE INNOCUOUS AS FAR AS THEY GO BUT IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT IT DOES NOT CONFORM TO THE ESTABLISHED PRACTICES OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE IN THAT IT FAILS TO MENTION RESOLUTION 1514 (XV) OR THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND THAT IT DOES NOT REFERE TO PREVIOUS UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS.
- 4. UNLESS A COMPROMISE TEXT CAN BE DEVISED WE WOULD RECOMMEND VOTING FOR BOTH RESOLUTIONS WITHOUT SPEAKING OR MAKING AN EXPLANATION OF VOTE. THE THRUST OF L.7 IS CLOSER THAN L.8 TO THE TERMS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER TO BOUMEDIENNE AND TO POSITIONS WE HAVE TAKEN IN PREVIOUS YEARS AND OUR OWN VIEW IS THAT WE SHOULD SUPPORT IT. OUR DISPOSITION IS ALSO TO SUPPORT L.8. IT IS CO-SPONSORED BY MODERATE ARABS AND AFRICANS, IT REFERS IN THE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS TO OAU EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, THERE IS NO LOGICAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TERMS (AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE INTENTION) OF THE TWO RESOLUTIONS AND AN ABSTENTION ON L.8 FOLLOWING SUPPORT OF L.7 WOULD BE SEEN BY MOROCCO AS PARTISAN.
- 5. THERE HAS NOT BEEN TIME TO ASCERTAIN THE INTENTIONS OF OTHER LIKE-MINDED DELEGATIONS BUT THE BRITISH ARE RECOMMENDING ABSTENTIONS ON BOTH RESOLUTIONS IN ORDER TO BE "EVEN-HANDED", AND PRELIMINARY THINKING AMONG NORDICS AND AUSTRIA IS TOWARDS VOTING IN FAVOUR OF BOTH.
- 6. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT A VOTE WILL BE TAKEN BEFORE 27 NOVEMBER.

2 - 0.UN12851

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: 10

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO LA FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS(WES)
ASP EUR AME FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR)
INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) GLT IL FAS(MFS) FAREP(S-M)
ADAB(DIR)

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TO. PP CANBERRA/ 2325

FM. NEW YORK UN / FILE 351/1 412/1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNGA 33 - FOURTH COMMITTEE - ITEM 24 - WESTERN SAHARA.

FOLLOWING ARE COMPETING DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON WESTERN SAHARA. WE WILL BE CABLING OUR COMMENTS ON THE TEXTS SEPARATELY.

BEGINS



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL

ASSEMBLY



PROVISIONAL

A/C.4/33/L.7 21 November 1978 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session FOURTH COMMITTEE Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Cope Verde, Congo, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guines, Guines Biasau, McLagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda, Eso Tomo and Principe, Seychelles; United Republic of Tanzania: draft resolution

2-0.UN12811

#### The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

having heard the statements made on the subject of Western Sahara before the Fourth Countitee, including the statement by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro,

Pecalling the conclusions of the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Western Eahara dated 11 November 1975, 2/

<sup>1/</sup> A/33/23/Add. 3.

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/10023/Rev.1), char. XIII, appex.

Recalling the advisory opinion delivered by the International Court of Justice on 16 October 1975 3/ on the question of Western Sahara, particularly in relation to the principle of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-

Bearing in mind the profound concern of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries regarding the decolonization of Western Cahara and the right of the people of that Territory to self-

Recalling its resolution 32/19 of 11 November 1977 regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

Recalling the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at question of Western Sahara, 4/

3-0.UN12811

Taking note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity 5 at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1971, to establish an ad hoc Committee to consider all the data of the question of Western Sahara, including the exercise of the right of the people of this Territory to self-determination,

Welcoming the unilateral decision to cease fire taken on 12 July 1978 by the Frente POLISARIO with a view to promoting a movement towards peace in

- 1. Reaffirms its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Tranting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution
- 2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahare to self-determination and independence;
- 3. Reaffirms the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to Western Sahara, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

<sup>3/</sup> Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975.

<sup>4/</sup> A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res. 31 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.

<sup>2/</sup> A/33/235, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).

<sup>4.</sup> Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue actively to keep developments in this matter under review with a view to the full and speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (NV) and to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session;

<sup>5.</sup> Invites the Escretary-Ceneral to submit a report on the question of Western Schara to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.

4-0.UN12811



# UNITED NATIONS

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY



PROVISIONAL

A/C.4/33/L.8 21 November 1978 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session FOURTH COMMITTEE Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Egypt, Gambia, Jordan, Oman, Senegal and Zaire: draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Recalling its relevant resolutions and those of the Organization of African Unity concerning the question of Western Sahara.

Considering the decision of the Assembly of heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara, 1/

Considering also the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish and ad hoc Committee of Heads of State to consider the data on the question of Western Sahara, 2/

Recalling the part of the Political Declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, relating to Western Sahara, 3/

#### 5-0.UN12811

Taking note of the appeal addressed to States Members of the United Nations by the Chairman of the current session of the Organization of African Unity,

Recalling its resolution 32/19 of 11 November 1977, regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

- 1. Takes note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Covernment of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, / held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc Committee of Heads of State;
- 2. Trusts to the ad hoc Committee to consider all the data on the question of Western Sahara;
- 3. Appeals to all States in the region to refrain from any action that might impede the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the problem;
- 4. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the results achieved by the ad hoc Committee, and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report thereon.
- 1/ See A/31/135-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.
  - 2/ A/33/235, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).
  - 3/ A/31/197, annex I, para. 35.

EXR096 AFP 330

UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK, NOV 22 (AFP) - TWO DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON THE WESTERN SAHARAN PROBLEM, ONE CONSIDERED HARD-LINE, THE OTHER MODERATE, WERE PLACED BEFORE THE U.N. DECOLONISATION COMMITTEE HERE

THE POLISARIO SAHARAN LIBERATION FRONT, BACKED BY ALGERIA, HAS BEEN FIGHTING A GUERRILLA WAR IN THE FORMER SPANISH SAHARA, PARTITIONED WITH SPAIN'S CONSENT BY MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA.

THE FIRST RESOLUTION, PROPOSED BY 19 COUNTRIES INCLUDING AFGHANISTAN, ALGERIA, ANGOLA, BENIN, CONGO, CUBA, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, MADAGASCAR, MOZAMBIQUE AND TANZANIA, IS CONSIDERED 'HARD'' BECAUSE IT SUPPORTS POLISARIO.

THE PREAMBLE MENTIONS POLISARIO'S ''UNILATERAL'' DECISION LAST JULY 13 TO CEASE HOSTILITIES ''TO PROMOTE A DASH FOR PEACE''.

THE PRO-POLISARIO TEXT ''REAFFIRMS'' THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE DECOLONISATION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA AND ASKS THE COMMITTEE TO KEEP A CLOSE EYE ON DEVELOPMENTS THERE AND TO REPORT TO NEXT YEAR'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

MORE GN 0010

AFP 331

SAHARAN 2 (UNITED NATIONS)

THE ''MODERATE'' RESOLUTION PLACES CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY OF THE ''WISE MEN'S'' COMMITTEE OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) THOROUGHLY TO INVESTIGATE THE FACTS OF THE SAHARAN QUESTION.

IT ALSO CALLS ON ''ALL STATES IN THE REGION'' TO REFRAIN FROM

DOING ANYTHING WHICH COULD HAMPER OAU EFFORTS TO FIND A SOLUTION. THE MODERATE TEXT WAS SPONSORED BY EIGHT COUNTRIES INCLUDING

EGYPT, JORDAN, MAURITIUS, SENEGAL AND ZAIRE.

### OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

0.CH764515 LH3/MD

O. CH764515 1731 20.11.78 CLA

TO. RR ALGIERS/1566

RP.
RR NEW YORK UN/2788 PARIS EMB/6334 NAIROBI/7800
RR MADRID/3652

FM. CANBERRA / FILE 935/28/2 REF 0.AL2786 0.AL2807 0.UN12545

CONFIDENTIAL

WESTERN SAHARA

FOR PIPER

IN ANY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ALGERIANS ON THE WESTERN SAHARA, YOU SHOULD BE GUIDED BY WHAT ANDERSON HAS SAID TO THE ALGERIANS IN NEW YORK.

2. YOU SHOULD INFORM YAD! THAT WE HAVE RECEIVED HIS REPRESENTA-TIONS ON THE QUESTION OF DEFERRAL. WE CANNOT AT THIS STAGE, NOT HAVING SEEN ANY DRAFT PROPOSAL, TAKE ANY POSITION ON PROCEDURAL OR SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS WHICH ARE TO BE DEALT WITH IN NEW YORK.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN AND DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

O. AL2807 LDF7/DA TOR 16.11.78

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TO. RR CANBERRA/2014

RP.
RR PARIS EMB/651 NEW YORK UN/138 NAIROBI/18
RR MADRID/107

FM. ALGIERS /

CONFIDENTIAL

WESTERN SAHARA

MY 0. AL2803 ON ABOVE WHICH IS BEING RELAYED THROUGH LONDON WAS SENT BEFORE I HAD SEEN REPORT OF ALGERIAN APPROACH TO U.S. IN NEW YORK TO CO-SPONSOR RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA (O. UN12545).

- 2. IT FOLLOWS FROM MY RECOMMENDATIONS THAT I WOULD FULLY SUPPORT MR ANDERSONS'S CAUTIOUS REACTION TO CO-SPONSORSHIP. ON THE OTHER HAVE I HOPE WE CAN GIVE ALGERIANS AN ASSURANCE OF OUR SUPPORT FOR A MODERATE RESOLUTION RE-AFFIRMING PRINCIPLE OF SELF DETERMINATION.
  - 3. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE YOUR CABLED ADVICE ON THE POSITION WE ARE TO ADOPT IN NEW YORK BEFORE I DELIVER PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT BOOMEDIENNE (RECIEVED YESTERDAY WITH MEMORANDUM M. CHO 19462) WHICH I HOPE TO DO THROUGH FOREIGN MINISTRY.

... PIPER

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

Mr Smith

Brief tel to Algrein 800

Shole to An NH line

17/11

- 2 0. AL2807

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO LA FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS(WES) ASF EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR) INF FAS(LT) GLT FAS(MFS)

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL 19. 19-29

A/33/23/Add. 3\* 23 October 1978

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-third session Agenda items 24 and 94

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

(covering its work during 1978)

Rapporteur: Mr. Sami GLAIEL (Syrian Arab Republic)

#### CHAPTERS IX-XI

#### WESTERN SAHARA, EAST TIMOR AND GIBRALTAR

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<sup>\*</sup> This document contains chapters IX to XI of the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly. The general introductory chapter will be issued under the symbol A/33/23. Other chapters of the report will be issued under the same symbol or as addenda to document A/33/23. The complete report will be issued subsequently as Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/33/23/Rev.1).

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#### CHAPTER IX

#### WESTERN SAHARA

#### A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

- 1. The Special Committee considered the question of Western Sahara at its 1124th meeting, on 28 August.
- 2. In its consideration of the item, the Special Committee took into account the provisions of relevant General Assembly resolutions, including in particular resolution 32/22 of 28 November 1977 on the question of Western Sahara and resolution 32/42 of 7 December 1977 on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By paragraph 13 of resolution 32/42, the Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence and, in particular: ... to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session".
- 3. During its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see annex to the present chapter) containing information on developments concerning the Territory.
- 4. At the 1124th meeting, on 28 August, the Special Committee granted a request for a hearing to a delegation of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Rio de Oro (Frente POLISARIO). At the same meeting, Mr. Madjid Abdullah, (Frente POLISARIO), made a statement (A/AC.109/PV.1124). At the same meeting, statements were made by the representatives of the Congo and Cuba (A/AC.109/PV.1124).

#### B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

5. At its 1124th meeting, on 28 August, following a statement by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.1124), the Special Committee decided, without objection, to give consideration to the item at its next session subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connexion at its thirty-third session and, in order to facilitate consideration of the item by the Assembly, to authorize its Rapporteur to transmit directly to the Assembly all available information on the question.

#### ANNEX\*

#### WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

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<sup>\*</sup> Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.1266.

#### WESTERN SAHARA

#### 1. GENERAL INFORMATION

- 1. Western Sahara is situated on the Atlantic coast of north-west Africa. It has a total area of about 266,000 square kilometres and a coastline 1,062 kilometres long.
- 2. Western Sahara is bounded on the north and north-east by Morocco and Algeria and on the south and east by Mauritania. Its land frontiers are 2,045 kilometres in length, the frontier with Mauritania being 1,570 kilometres long and that with Morocco and Algeria 475 kilometres. The Territory consists of two regions, Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro, which form an integral part of the great Saharan Desert.
- 3. The climate of Western Sahara is very dry with enormous differences between nocturnal and diurnal temperatures. There is very little cultivation, except in some low-lying areas in the south which are watered by occasional rainfall.
- 4. Phosphates, the mining of which began in 1974, constitute the main economic resource of Western Sahara.
- 5. The indigenous population of Western Sahara is nomadic and pastoral and is comprised for the most part of persons of Moorish, or bedouin descent. The principal tribes in the Territory are the Erguibat, the Ait Lahsen and the Ulad Delim. These tribes are also found in Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria.

#### 2. BACKGROUND

- 6. In accordance with the Declaration of Principles, also known as the Madrid Declaration, a/ which it signed on 14 November 1975 with Morocco and Mauritania, Spain terminated its presence in the Territory on 26 February 1976. On withdrawing from Western Sahara, the adminstering Power transferred its powers to a temporary administration comprising the Spanish Governor-General and two deputy governors, one each nominated by Morocco and Mauritania.
- 7. On 14 April 1976, Morocco and Mauritania signed an agreement whereby the frontier between Mauritania and Morocco was defined by the straight line linking the point of intersection of the 24th parallel north and the 13th meridian west. With the frontier thus defined, the northern part of Western Sahara was integrated into Moroccan territory and the southern part into Mauritanian territory. The Algerian Government, which had opposed the Madrid Declaration, accused the Spanish Government of repudiating its obligations with respect to the decolonization of the Territory and of handing over the Territory to Morocco and Mauritania.

a/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.

- 8. The Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) declared that the Saharan people considered "the agreemen concluded between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania as null and void and as an act of aggression and banditry" and reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence.
- 9. The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, proclaimed on 27 February 1976 by the Frente POLISARIO, has been recognized by 15 countries: Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Congo, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mozambique, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles and Togo.

#### 3. CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

- 10. By its resolution 32/22 of 28 November 1977, which was adopted without objection, the General Assembly, inter alia, reaffirmed its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; expressed the hope that a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara would be speedily achieved, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, at the extraordinary session of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) devoted to that question, to be held shortly in accordance with the decisions taken at the thirteenth  $\underline{b}/$  and fourteenth  $\underline{c}/$  ordinary sessions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU; decided to resume consideration of the question of Western Sahara at its thirty-third session; requested the Special Committee to keep developments in the matter under review and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session; requested the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU to inform the Secretary-General of the progress achieved in the implementation of the OAU decisions concerning Western Sahara; and invited the Secretary-General to report on the question to the General Assembly as soon as possible and not later than at its thirty-third session.
- ll. The positions of Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco and POLISARIO were reflected in their statements in the Fourth Committee.  $\underline{d}/$ 
  - 4. CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION BY THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY
- 12. During the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU held at Khartoum in July 1978, it was reported that the Assembly had passed a compromise resolution setting up an ad hoc commission of five heads of State under the chairmanship of President Gaafar Nimeiri of the Sudan, who is

b/ See A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.

c/ See A/32/310, annex II.

d/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee, 10th meeting.

cure thy the OAU Chairman. The task of this commission is reported to be to study "a. the facts" in the Western Sahara dispute, including the exercise of the people's right to self-determination, in preparation for a special summit to discuss the issue. By this resolution, President Nimeiri is requested to proceed with consultations regarding the establishment of the commission and to convene it as early as possible. The resolution calls on all States in the north African region to abstain from undertaking any action which might impede the search for a just and peaceful solution of the problem. The resolution also calls on the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU to prepare a report on the Sahara question to be submitted to the OAU Council of Ministers at its thirty-second ordinary session and calls upon him to bring the present resolution to the attention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in view of the continued involvement of the United Nations in the question of decolonization in Western Sahara.

#### 5. ARMED CLASHES

- 13. Press reports indicate that armed clashes have continued to take place between the forces of the Frente POLISARIO and those of Morocco and Mauritania. Although these reports and communiqués are often conflicting, on the basis of the various accounts available it appears that several locations both within the Territory and in Morocco and Mauritania have been affected.
- 14. Reportedly, among the main targets of the Frente POLISARIO have been Mauritanian economic centres. Several attacks were reportedly launched at points along the Zouérat-Nouadhibou railway line between January and June 1978. Although the attacks were initially directed at outposts along the railway line, the Frente POLISARIO has reportedly begun a new tactic of destroying railway cars and tracks. Installations belonging to the Société Minière de Mauritanie at Tmeymichatt have also reportedly been attacked.
- 15. It will be recalled that the 600 kilometre rail link serves to transport the iron-ore mined at Zouérat to the port of Nouadhibou. This iron-ore accounts for 85 per cent of Mauritania's foreign trade revenue. On 23 December 1977, the Frente POLISARIO released eight French nationals whom it had been holding hostage since the previous May following a raid by the Frente POLISARIO on the town of Zouérat. The eight were released in Algiers and handed over to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
- 16. POLISARIO and Moroccan forces are reported to have clashed inter alia, in May and June 1978 at Sken in southern Morocco and at Oum Dreiga in Western Sahara which is reported to be a stronghold of the Frente POLISARIO from which attacks on the Zouérat-Nouadhibou railroad are carried out. Estimates of casualties vary widely.
- 17. In keeping with the agreement between Mauritania and Morocco of joint co-operation in the field of defence signed on 13 May 1977, Morocco has sent two battalions of soldiers to Zouérat and has stationed soldiers at Dakhla, Bir Moghrein, Ain-Bentiti, Nouadhibou, Asar and Akjouj to help Mauritania fight the Frente POLISARIO. Moroccan planes have reportedly also been involved in action against guerrillas of the Frente POLISARIO. Moroccan F-5 squadrons are now reportedly based at El Aaiún, Dakhla and Nouadhibou from where they are said to make regular flights to intercept forces of the Frente POLISARIO.

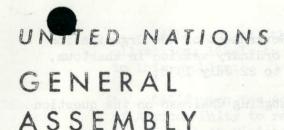
- 18. In November 1977, French planes based at Dakar reportedly began carryin at daily reconnaissance missions over Mauritania at the request of the Mauritanian Government. In response to a reported Mauritanian request for "more positive French intervention and Air Force support of Mauritanian ground operation", French aircraft are said to have carried out air strikes on guerrillas of the Frente POLISARIO.
- 19. On 3 May 1978, French Jaguar fighter planes reportedly went into action against the guerrillas at the request of the Mauritanian Government. In addition to the Jaguar fighter planes, the French are reportedly using Atlantic-Breguet long-range reconnaissance planes in the area.
- 20. There are conflicting reports about casualties inflicted on these French fighters by the Frente POLISARIO.
- 21. In April 1978, it was reported that the Frente POLISARIO had seized eight Spanish fishermen off the coast of Western Sahara. Reports indicate that the seizure was apparently a reprisal against Spain for ratifying a fishing agreement with Morocco the previous February. The agreement refers to the Western Saharan fishing banks as being "under the territorial jurisdiction" of Morocco. At the time, the Frente POLISARIO had accused Spain of provocation and has since reiterated on several occasions that it would take action to support its claim that the waters off the coast of Western Sahara are a part of the territory of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and hence should be considered as a part of the "war zone".
- 22. On 17 June, it was reported that the fishermen were being held and would be tried on charges of "theft" according to the laws of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.
- 23. Reports indicate that the number of refugees from Western Sahara is growing. The 1975 United Nations visiting mission to the Territory reported 7,000 refugees living in Tindouf. e/ In 1976, however, in a request to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for international aid, Algeria estimated that the refugees numbered between 45,000 and 50,000 persons mainly women and children, living in approximately 20 camps in the Tindouf area (see E/1978/75, paras. 80-82). There are conflicting reports as to the actual number of refugees.

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e/ <u>Ibid.</u>, <u>Thirtieth Session</u>, <u>Supplement No. 23</u> (A/10023/Rev.1), vol. III, chap. XIII annex, para. 362.

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Distr. GENERAL

A/33/337 31 October 1978

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-third session Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

#### Question of Western Sahara

#### Report of the Secretary-General

1. At its thirty-second session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 32/22 of 28 November 1977 concerning the question of Western Sahara. Paragraph 5 of this resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara, and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report on the question to the General Assembly as soon as possible and not later than at its thirty-third session."

2. In a telegram dated 8 September 1978, Mr. Edem Kodjo, the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), addressed the following message to the Secretary-General:

"The Assembly of Heads of State and Government, meeting at its fifteenth ordinary session at Khartoum, Democratic Republic of the Sudan, from 18 to 22 July 1978, adopted a resolution on the question of Western Sahara and requested me to bring the resolution to the knowledge of the United Nations Secretary-General. I am therefore sending you the full text of the resolution and look forward to meeting you soon in my new capacity when I come to New York with the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity to attend the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

'The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity meeting in its fifteenth ordinary session in Khartoum, Democratic Republic of the Sudan, from 18 to 22 July 1978,

'Having heard the statement of the outgoing Chairman on the question of Western Sahara,

Having discussed the question of Western Sahara,

'Keenly concerned about the serious situation prevailing in Western Sahara and the tension in the region,

'Guided by the principles and objectives of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, in particular, those relating to the total decolonization of the continent,

'Recalling United Nations General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and, taking into consideration the conclusions of the report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission of 11 November 1975,

'Recalling the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Non-aligned Movement on the question of Western Sahara,

'Considering the advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice on 16 October 1975 1/ with respect to the principle of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination:

- 'l. REAFFIRMS the responsibility of the Organization of African Unity with regard to the search of a fair and peaceful solution in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and the Charter of the United Nations;
- '2. REAFFIRMS the decision to hold an extraordinary summit meeting devoted to the question of Western Sahara;
- '3. DECIDES to set up, for this purpose, an <u>ad hoc</u> committee composed of at least five Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity, including the current Chairman of the organization, and entrust it with the consideration of all the data on the question of Western Sahara, among which, the exercise of the right of the people of this Territory to self-determination;
  - '4. DIRECTS the current Chairman to hold, as soon as possible, consultations with a view to setting up the said ad hoc committee and organizing its meeting;

<sup>1/</sup> Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975, p. 12.

- '5. CALLS upon all the States of the region to refrain from taking all actions likely to hamper the search of a fair and peaceful solution to this problem;
- <sup>7</sup>6. CALLS upon the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to report to the thirty-second ordinary session of the Council of Ministers on the evolution of the question;
- '7. INVITES the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to bring the present resolution to the knowledge of the United Nations Secretary-General to whom was already submitted the decolonization problem of the Western Sahara.'"

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betasking-Scherol of the Organization of Abdom unity (OAS), addressed the

# THIRTY-THIRD SESSION OF THE GENERALY ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS 1978

Provisional Agenda Item No. 24:

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: Question of Western Sahara.

Documents:

Resolution 32/22

#### Background

- The Western Sahara continues to be the most time consuming issue on the Fourth Committee's Agenda. The dispute is a three-way one; Morocco and Mauritania each claim separate sovereignty over the former resources-rich Spanish territory, whilst a number of the local inhabitants, supported by Algeria, favour independence. In accordance with the Madrid Agreement of 1975, between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania, two thirds of the Western Sahara are now under Moroccan sovereignty and one third under Mauritanian. The most influential of the independence movements is the "Frente Polisario" which is based in Algeria. Algeria does not recognise this division of the former Spanish territory. Its position is that the inhabitants of the area should have the right of self-determination and that a referendum on the question of independence should be held.
- At the Thirtieth Session in particular (1975), the debate on this item was protracted and divisive and eventually two conflicting resolutions were adopted: the first was a standard decolonisation text reaffirming the right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence, while the second implicitly endorsed the terms of the Madrid Agreement. New Zealand voted in favour of the first and abstained on the second. In 1976, the General Assembly adopted a resolution by consensus calling for an extraordinary meeting of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) to resolve the problem. A second resolution to this effect was similarly adopted last year; as yet the summit has not been held. At the recent OAU Summit in Khartoum however, a special committee of five or more Heads of State under the presidency of Numeiry (The Sudan) was established to examine the question and report to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the special OAU meeting.

/Course

#### Course of the Debate

3. The debate will probably follow a pattern similar to previous years and consist largely of a review of the history of the case from the point of view of Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria and a disclaimer of responsibility from Spain. Algeria has been actively canvassing support for its position in the dispute.

#### New Zealand Position - Instructions

- 4. We do not have direct interests in the region and our approach to the Western Sahara dispute is based on support for the principle of self-determination for the local inhabitants. This does not mean that we consider it necessarily desirable that the Western Sahara with its population of only 70,000 should become a fully fledged state; but we do believe that the local inhabitants should have the right to determine their future. It seems to us that all parties to the dispute are to some extent at fault Morocco and Mauritania for annexing and apportioning the territory without determining the wishes of its people and Algeria for supporting the "Frente Polisario" as the sole authentic representative of the Western Sahara people.
- 5. The delegation should support any resolution which endorses the principle of self-determination and abstain on any that accept as valid the annexation of the territory without any further properly supervised steps to determine the wishes of the inhabitants.

<u>Distribution</u>: Australia, Canada, Britain

Ministry of Foreign Affairs WELLINGTON.

12 September 1978

Mr Shull

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UNTED NATIONS

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/33/337 31 October 1978

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-third session Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

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'Having heard the statement of the outgoing Chairman on the question of Western Sahara,

Having discussed the question of Western Sahara,

'Keenly concerned about the serious situation prevailing in Western Sahara and the tension in the region,

'Guided by the principles and objectives of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, in particular, those relating to the total decolonization of the continent,

'Recalling United Nations General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and, taking into consideration the conclusions of the report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission of 11 November 1975,

'Recalling the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Non-aligned Movement on the question of Western Sahara,

'Considering the advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice on 16 October 1975 1/ with respect to the principle of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination:

- 'l. REAFFIRMS the responsibility of the Organization of African Unity with regard to the search of a fair and peaceful solution in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and the Charter of the United Nations;
  - '2. REAFFIRMS the decision to hold an extraordinary summit meeting devoted to the question of Western Sahara;
- '3. DECIDES to set up, for this purpose, an <u>ad hoc</u> committee composed of at least five Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity, including the current Chairman of the organization, and entrust it with the consideration of all the data on the question of Western Sahara, among which, the exercise of the right of the people of this Territory to self-determination;
- '4. DIRECTS the current Chairman to hold, as soon as possible, consultations with a view to setting up the said ad hoc committee and organizing its meeting;

<sup>1/</sup> Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975, p. 12.

- '5. CALLS upon all the States of the region to refrain from taking all actions likely to hamper the search of a fair and peaceful solution to this problem;
- 16. CALLS upon the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to report to the thirty-second ordinary session of the Council of Ministers on the evolution of the question;
- '7. INVITES the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to bring the present resolution to the knowledge of the United Nations Secretary-General to whom was already submitted the decolonization problem of the Western Sahara.'

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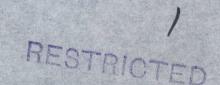
UNGA 33 : WESTERN SAHARA

We were summoned to Ministry of Foreign Affairs today 31 October by YADI, Director, Asia Division to receive a démarche on the Western Sahara. (All other resident missions are being similarly summoned by their respective area Directors).

- 2. Yadi rehearsed the well-known Algerian position on the Western Sahara, traversing developments in the context of the OAU and prospects for an early solution ensuing from the recent change of government in Mauritania. In this context, he alluded to efforts by some (unnamed) governments to have the Western Sahara question deferred at UNGA33. Yadi contended that the appointment of the special OAU Committee to study the dispute and continuing regional (and French) diplomatic efforts towards a solution did not constitute an argument for deferral of further discussion in the UN context. The dispute had from its inception figured in both the UN and the OAU contexts and Algeria could not accept an argument that it should now be left to the OAU.

  3. The burden of the Algerian démarche was thus to seek Australian
- 4. During the discussion Yadi referred warmly to Australian support in previous years for UN resolutions upholding the principle of self-determination for the Western Sahara.

support against any move to defer consideration of the matter in the Fourth Committee and we undertook to pass on Yadi's representations to

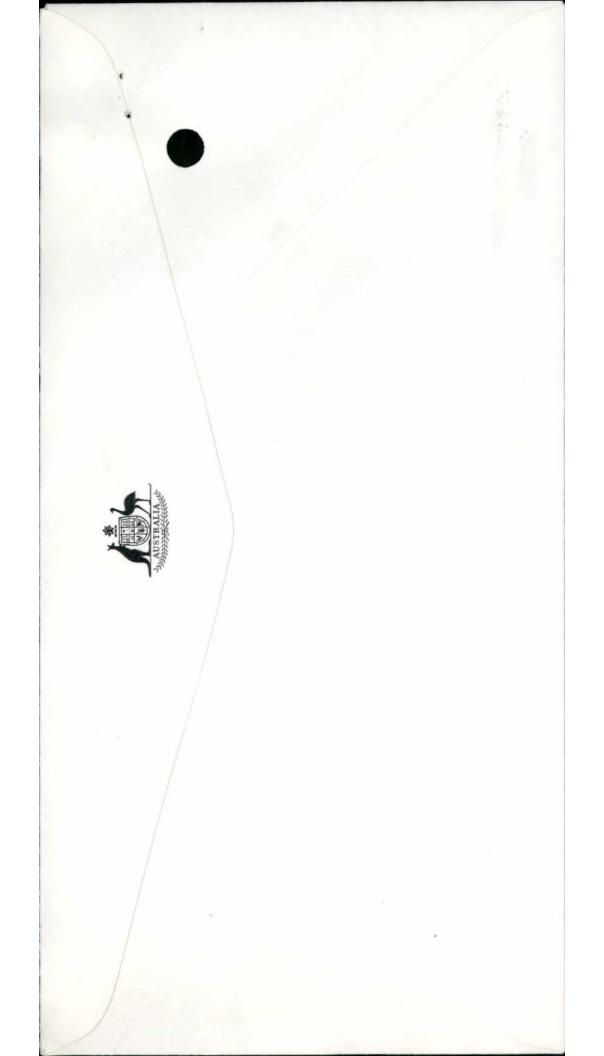


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The Secretary Department of Foreign Affairs CANBERRA

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

ALGIERS



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UNGA 33 : ITEM 24 : WESTERN SAHARA

ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE (BEDJAOUI) WHO IS CURRENTLY
LEADING ALGERIAN DELEGATION TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY CALLED ON 1
NOVEMBER TO DISCUSS THE WESTERN SAHARA QUESTION. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED
BY THE ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON (MAOUI) WHO SAID HE HAD
VISITED AUSTRALIA RECENTLY WITH A MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER
FROM PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENNE AND HAD BEEN WARMLY RECEIVED BY THE
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

2. BEDJAOUI SAID THAT A DEADLOCK HAD BEEN REACHED BETWEEN THE POLISARIO AND MAURITANIA, WHICH PROFESSED TO WANT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BUT WAS NOT WILLING TO ACCEPT POLISARIO'S CLAIMS TO NATIONAL STATUS OR TO VACATE SAHARAN TERRITORY. HE THEN ARGUED THAT IF EFFORTS TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT THROUGH THE OAU AND ITS "COMMITTEE OF WISE MEN" (WHICH HAD ALSO BOGGED DOWN) WERE TO MAKE HEADWAY, THEY WOULD NEED THE STIMULUS OF A NEW UNGA RESOLUTION REAFFIRMING THE PRINCIPLES OF EARLIER RESOLUTIONS INCLUDING PARTICULARLY THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. HE REQUESTED OUR ACTIVE SUPPORT IN THE FOURTH COMMITTEE FOR SUCH A RESOLUTION. INCLUDING IF POSSIBLE CO-SPONSORSHIP, HAVING REGARD TO OUR PAST SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE WESTERN SAHARA, WHICH MAOUI SAID MR PEACOCK HAD REAFFIRMED. BEDJAOUI ADDED THAT THE MAROCCANS AND MAURITANIANS WOULD NO DOUBT URGE THAT MOTHING SHOULD BE SAID OR DONE IN THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH COULD AND BILATERAL MOVES FOR A SETTLEMENT, BUT THE UPSET OAU EFFORTS FACT WAS THAT ALL SUCH MOVES AND EFFORTS WERE NOW BLOCKED AND THAT ONLY UNITED NATIONS ACTION COULD PROVIDE THE NECESSARY IMPETUS.

3. I SAID THAT WHILE AUSTRALIA STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE CHARTER PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND WANTED TO SEE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE WESTERN SAHARAN PROBLEM AGREED BETWEEN THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES, WE WOULD NOT WISH TO TAKE A CONSPICUOUS PART IN A DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WITH BOTH OF WHICH WE ENJOYED FRIENDLY RELATIONS. WE WOULD NOT THEREFORE BE IN A POSITION TO CO-SPONSOR THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION. WE WOULD HOWEVER GIVE CLOSE AND CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE ALGERIAN DRAFT AS SOON AS A TEXT WAS AVAILABLE.

# CONFIDENTIAL

# CONFIDENTIAL

#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

-2- 0.UN 12545

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP PM AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: IO AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO FAS(WES) ASP EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR) INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT FAS(MFS) FAREP(S-M)

# ESTRICTED

#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

0.AL2786 HMP12/GC TOR 1141 1.11.78

0. AL 2786 1150 31.10.78

TO.

RR CANBERRA/2004 NEW YORK UN/136 PARIS EMB/641

RR MADRID/103 NAIROBI/16

FM. ALGIERS /

RESTRICTED

UNGA 33 : WESTERN SAHARA

WE WERE SUMMONED TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TODAY
31ST OCTOBER BY YADI, DIRECTOR ASIA DIVISION TO RECEIVE DEMARCHE
ON WESTERN SAHARA. (ALL OTHER RESIDENTIAL MISSIONS ARE BEING
SIMILARLY SUMMONED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE AREA DIRECTOR).

2. YADI REHEARSED WELL KNOWN ALGERIAN POSITION ON THE WESTERN SAHARA, TRAVERSING DEVELOPMENTS IN CONTEXT OF OAU AND PROSPECTS FOR AN EARLY SOLUTION ENSUING FROM RECENT CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN MAURITANIA. IN THIS CONTEXT HE ALLUDED TO EFFORTS BY SOME (UNNAMED) GOVERNMENTS TO HAVE THE WESTERN SAHARA QUESTION DEFFERED AT UNGA 33. YADI CONTENDED APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL OAU COMMITTEE TO STUDY DISPUTE AND CONTINUE REGIONAL (AND FRENCH) DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TOWARDS SOLUTION WERE NOT REASONS FOR DEFERENCE OF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS IN UNITED NATIONS CONTEXT. THE DISPUTE HAD, FROM ITS INCEPTION, FIGURED IN BOTH UNITED NATIONS AND OAU CONTEXTS AND ALGERIA COULD NOT ACCEPT AN ARGUMENT THAT IT SHOULD NOW BE LEFT TO THE OAU.

3. THE BURDEN OF THE ALGERIAN DEMARCHE WAS THUS TO SEEK AUSTRALIAN SUPPORT AGAINST ANY MOVE TO DEFER CONSIDERATION OF MATTER IN FOURTH COMMITTEE AND WE UNDERTOOK TO PASS ON YADI'S REPRESENTATIONS TO THAT END.

4. DURING DISCUSSION YADI REFERRED WARMLY TO AUSTRALIAN SUPPORT IN PREVIOUS YEARS FOR UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS UPHOLDING THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF DETERMINATION FOR WESTERN SAHARA.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

RESTRICTED

OC

#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

2/0.AL2786

ACTION: AME

SEC DERSECS EX MCO FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS(WES)
ASP EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) IO
FAS(PCR) LNF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) FAS(MFS) FAREP(S-M)

NZ & S Paulic JUNTUL.



# UNTIED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



A/C.4/33/5 17 October 1978 ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session FOURTH COMMITTEE Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

#### Request for hearing

Letter dated 18 September 1978 from Mr. Madjid Abdullah, Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO), addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee 1/

New York

I have the honour to inform you that the following delegation has been named to appear before the Fourth Committee during the current session: Mr. Hakim Adel, Mr. Madjid Abdullah, Mr. Yacoub Salem and Mr. Tinguiri.

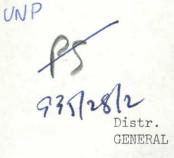
The names of the other three members of the delegation will be communicated to you later.

(Signed) Madjid ABDULLAH

<sup>1/</sup> Note by the Secretariat: The above communication is distributed to the members of the Fourth Committee in accordance with a decision taken by the Committee at its 3rd meeting, on 16 October 1978.

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY







A/c.4/33/5 17 October 1978 ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session FOURTH COMMITTEE Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

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The names of the other three members of the delegation will be communicated to you later.

(Signed) Madjid ABDULLAH

<sup>1/</sup> Note by the Secretariat: The above communication is distributed to the members of the Fourth Committee in accordance with a decision taken by the Committee at its 3rd meeting, on 16 October 1978.



### UNITED NATIONS

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## GENERAL



Distr. GENERAL

A/33/289 5 October 1978

ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session and the s

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Letter dated 5 October 1978 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of the reply of President Houari Boumediène to the message of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco (A/33/284).

I am instructed by my Government to request you to have it circulated as an official General Assembly document under agenda item 24.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA

Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

#### 

#### Reply of President Houari Boumediène to the message of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco

You will, I am sure, permit me to express my deep regret of the fact that public diplomacy seems today to be winning out over traditional diplomacy.

I am therefore compelled in turn to resort to this form of diplomacy.

Like you, I would have wished to renew mutual contact directly. A direct dialogue would certainly have been preferable. But how can that be possible after the respective positions we have recently taken on the Palestinian affair and its impact on the Middle East and the Arab nation?

However, I can assure you unhesitatingly that Algeria will not shrink from any effort in making its modest contribution to the search for a just peace among the protagonists of the present conflict in Western Sahara.

Unfortunately, I note once again from your message that categorical assertions are being made, with accusations of the gravest nature against Algeria.

They would have been more surprising had I not become inured to them by force of habit. However, I would prefer not to believe that the allegations of repeated violations of the Moroccan border by the National People's Army are solely a means of justifying a premeditated attack against my country.

At all events, a step of this kind could only proceed from a clear intention to mislead public opinion in the Maghreb, in Africa and in the world at large as to the nature of the conflict which afflicts our region. And yet, for 10 years Your Majesty and I have been able to raise the policies of our two countries to a level responding to the natural aspirations of our peoples, which, as you know, have stronger ties than those imposed by the mere accident of immediate proximity. During this period, our region has experienced such a flowering that, irrespective of local and Arab problems, we have together linked hands to make a genuine contribution to the emancipation of the peoples of our continent and of the Arab world and to the advancement of the third world in the international arena. This policy was originally inspired by the fraternity, neighbourly relations and co-operation proclaimed in the Treaty of Ifrane, to which we reaffirm our unshakable devotion. The cornerstone of this triptych was peace, which doubtless, for Your Majesty as for us, is inseparable from justice and the freedom of peoples. The 1972 conventions signed with a solemnity attested by Africa and the world at large, helped us finally to transcend what we agreed to call either passing incidents or accidents of history. Moreover, the better to emphasize our faith in the rectitude of this policy, we hastened on our part to ratify the Rabat agreements in both their aspects: placing co-operation on a firm institutional footing and defining the borders between Algeria and Morocco. dollar meldon last though all ald the



# GENERAL

### GENERAL



Distr. GENERAL

A/33/284 4 October 1978 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session Agenda item 50



IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 4 October 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to inform you that during the night of 30 September-1 October 1978 the Algerian Army, for the second time within the space of a month, committed an act of aggression against my country. The localities which were subjected to this Algerian aggression are situated 5 and 15 kilometres respectively within Moroccan territory.

Following this act of aggression, His Majesty King Hassan II sent a message to President Houari Boumediène, the text of which is attached hereto.

This act of aggression, the seriousness of which must be obvious to you, resulted in a number of casualties and represents another infringement by Algeria of my country's sovereignty and territorial integrity in violation of the principles embodied in the Charters of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States. It comes at a time when the Organization of African Unity is making tireless efforts to reduce tension in our region and when the African Heads of State, at the most recent summit conference at Khartoum, have in particular urged all the States of the region to refrain from any acts which might aggravate that tension.

I wish to draw your attention to the fact that acts of this nature can have serious repercussions for the peace and security of the region and may lead Morocco to react in an appropriate manner. In that event, the Algerian Government will bear full responsibility.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and the King's message circulated as an official General Assembly document under agenda item 50.

(Signed) Abdellatif FILALI
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

#### ANNEX

Text of the message of 2 October 1978 from His Majesty
King Hassan II of Morocco addressed to His Excellency
Mr. Houari Boumediène, President of the People's

Democratic Republic of Algeria

I should have liked to resume direct contact with you for the purpose of discussing reconciliation and planning for peace.

Unfortunately, I find myself compelled to do so only in order to lodge a vigorous protest with you concerning the aggression committed against my country during the night of 30 September-1 October 1978.

As you are aware, a convention delimiting the frontiers between Morocco and Algeria was drawn up and signed by our two Governments in 1972 at a time when the Heads of State attending the summit conference of the Organization of African Unity were present at Rabat and thus bore witness to our two peoples and to all of Africa.

Morocco has always complied strictly with this convention even though my country has not yet ratified it. You yourself published it in the official gazette of the Algerian Republic, No. 546, of 15 June 1973. Article 1 of the convention refers to the map of Merkala (scale 1:200,000 E - IGN, North Sahara, 1964 edition).

The localities known as Hassis Tilemsi which were subjected to Algerian aggression are situated 5 and 15 kilometres respectively within these frontiers which have been recognized by you, by us and by all international Powers.

I shall not attempt to conceal from you my state of bafflement, for the act committed by the Algerian armed forces is devoid of all sense and logic.

Such acts, although they do not make it clear that you wish to enlarge the conflict under way between us, are also far from suggesting that Algeria, in compliance with its obligations, is refraining from violating its uncontested frontiers with its neighbours.

Everyone is aware of the nature of the obligations of a Head of State towards his people and his country. Some of these obligations call for decisions which no man of conscience adopts casually or light-heartedly.

Death and injury have resulted from the deliberate disregard of an internationally recognized instrument.

A/33/284 Annex English Page 2



Just what is it that you want, Mr. President, and what, therefore, does Algeria want? I am publicly putting this question to your conscience. I hope that you, militant African that you have been, will be sufficiently candid to give me your reply as soon as possible.

You and I know all too well the risks and dangers usually entailed in an outbreak of hostilities.

We have too close a relationship with our officers and men to be willing to expose them so lightly to a senseless death.

I hope that, in making your reply, you will be moved by your conscience as a Maghrebian to safeguard what remains and can still be serviceable of our neighbourly relationship and our membership in the same spiritual family and the same continent.

LLA OLI MARIA DE MANGELLA DE COMPANIO DE MASSAN II

King of Morocco

country has not yet ratified it. You were it miblished it in the official gazette of the Algerian Republic, No. 546, of 15 June 1973. Article 1 of the convention refers to the map of Merkels (stale 1:200,000 E - IGN, Morth Sahar 1964 edition).

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CENTRAL REGISTRY DEA

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

DATE. 14 September 1978.

IN REPLY M.UN 1196

REGISTRY

TO. CANBERRA

REF.

FM. NEW YORK U.N.

SEQUENCE

1117

CLASSIFICATION. UNCLASSIFIED

Algiers, Emb.

FM. FILE.

412/1

NUMBER

UN Politice Section

SUBJECT. COMMITTEE OF 24: WESTERN SAHARA

As we indicated in our cable O.UN 11949, the Polisario Front delivered a strong and uncompromising statement on Western Sahara in the Committee of 24 on 28 August 1978.

The only other participants in the debate were the Congo and Cuba, both of which made brief statements of support for the Polisario Front. The Committee then decided on the proposal of the Chairman, "to continue consideration of the item at its next session, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give at its forthcoming session".

(R.S. Morris) Second Secretary

A/AC.109/L.1266

A/AC.109/PV.1124

Working Paper on Western Sahara prepared by the Secretariat. Provisional Verbatim Records of the 1124th meeting of the Committee of 24.

ENGLOSURES ATTACHED



#### UN ED NATIONS

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
LIMITED

A/AC.109/L.1266 15 August 1978

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION
WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING
OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES
AND PEOPLES

#### WESTERN SAHARA

#### Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

#### CONTENTS

		Paragraphs
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2.	Background	6 - 9
3.	Consideration of the question by the General Assembly	10 - 11
	Consideration of the question by the Organization of African Unity	12
5.	Armed clashes	13 - 23

#### WESTERN SAHARA

#### 1. GENERAL INFORMATION

- 1. Western Sahara is situated on the Atlantic coast of north-west Africa. It has a total area of about 266,000 square kilometres and a coastline 1,062 kilometres long.
- 2. Western Sahara is bounded on the north and north-east by Morocco and Algeria and on the south and east by Mauritania. Its land frontiers are 2,045 kilometres in length, the frontier with Mauritania being 1,570 kilometres long and that with Morocco and Algeria 475 kilometres. The Territory consists of two regions, Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro, which form an integral part of the great Saharan Desert.
- 3. The climate of Western Sahara is very dry with enormous differences between nocturnal and diurnal temperatures. There is very little cultivation, except in some low-lying areas in the south which are watered by occasional rainfall.
- 4. Phosphates, the mining of which began in 1974, constitute the main economic resource of Western Sahara.
- 5. The indigenous population of Western Sahara is nomadic and pastoral and is comprised for the most part of persons of Moorish, or bedouin descent. The principal tribes in the Territory are the Erguibat, the Ait Lahsen and the Ulad Delim. These tribes are also found in Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria.

#### 2. BACKGROUND

- 6. In accordance with the Declaration of Principles, also known as the Madrid Declaration, a/which it signed on 14 November 1975 with Morocco and Mauritania, Spain terminated its presence in the Territory on 26 February 1976. On withdrawing from Western Sahara, the administering Power transferred its powers to a temporary administration comprising the Spanish Governor-General and two deputy governors, one each nominated by Morocco and Mauritania.
- 7. On 14 April 1976, Morocco and Mauritania signed an agreement whereby the frontier between Mauritania and Morocco was defined by the straight line linking the point of intersection of the 24th parallel north and the 13th meridian west. With the frontier thus defined, the northern part of Western Sahara was integrated into Moroccan territory and the sourthern part into Mauritanian territory. The Algerian Government, which had opposed the Madrid Declaration, accused the Spanish

a/ Cfficial Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.

Government of repudiating its obligations with respect to the decolonization of the Territory and of handing over the Territory to Morocco and Mauritania.

- 8. The Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) declared that the Saharan people considered "the agreement concluded between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania as null and void and as an act of aggression and banditry" and reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence.
- 9. The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, proclaimed on 27 February 1976 by the Frente POLISARIO, has been recognized by 15 countries: Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Congo, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mozambique, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles and Togo.

#### 3. CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

- 10. By its resolution 32/22 of 28 November 1977, which was adopted without objection, the General Assembly, inter alia, reaffirmed its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; expressed the hope that a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara would be speedily achieved, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, at the extraordinary session of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) devoted to that question, to be held shortly in accordance with the decisions taken at the thirteenth b/ and fourteenth c/ ordinary sessions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU; decided to resume consideration of the question of Western Sahara at its thirty-third session; requested the Special Committee to keep developments in the matter under review and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session; requested the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU to inform the Secretary-General of the progress achieved in the implementation of the OAU decisions concerning Western Sahara; and invited the Secretary-General to report on the question to the General Assembly as soon as possible and not later than at its thirty-third session.
- ll. The positions of Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco and POLISARIO were reflected in their statements in the Fourth Committee.  $\underline{d}/$

b/ See A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>c</u>/ See A/32/310, annex II.

d/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee, 10th meeting.

#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.AL2735 DJM 3/AEW TOR 2325 5.10.78

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TO.
PP CANBERRA/1962

RP.
RR PARIS EMB/627 NEW YOR K/135

FM. ALGIERS / FILE 862/98/1

UNCLASSIFIED

WESTERN SAHARA

PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENE'S REPLY TO RECENT MESSAGE FROM KING HASSAN II OF MOROCCO ACCUSING ALGERIA OF ARMED INCURSIONS INTO MOROCCO AND SEEKING TO PUT DISPUTE OVER WESTERN SAHARA INTO BI-LATERAL CONTEXT HAS BEEN GIVEN MAXIMUM OFFICIAL MEDIA COVERAGE HERE OVER THE LAST 24 HOURS.

- 2. ALGERIAN REPLY (TEXT BY BAG) REAFFIRMING THAT "NO ALGERIAN SOLDIER HAS CROSSED THE NATIONAL FRONTIER" AND RE-STATING ALGERIAN ATTITUDE ON SAHARA SHOWS CONCERN THAT MOROCCO MIGHT BE CONTEMPLATING SOME KIND OF MILITARY RETALIATION, BASED ON MOROCCAN UNWILLINGNESS TO FORMALISE AND RESPECT FRONTIERS IN TINDOUF-BECHAR REGION AS AGREED BETWEEN TWO HEADS OF STATE IN 1972.
- 3. MFA HAVE ALSO CONVEYED ALGERIAN VIEWS TO VARIOUS HEADS OF MISSION AND IN PARTICULAR TO MEMBERS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

#### DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0. AL 2735

ACTION: AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO LA FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) ASP EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) IO FAS(PCR) INF FAS(ECO) EAS(LT) FAS(MFS) FAREP(S-M)
BAGHDAD CAIRO DAMASCUS JEDDAH LONDON MOSCOW TEHRAN TEL AVIV WASHINGTON

935/18/2

#### DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

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RP.

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FM. ALGIERS / FILE 862/98/1

UNCLASSIFIED

WESTERN SAHARA

A CONGRESS OF POLISARIO FRONT 25 - 28 SEPTEMBER MEETING IN SLIBERATED TERRITORIES "DECIDED TO MAINTAIN CEASE FIRE IN RELATION TO MAURITANIA. WHILE FRONT SPOKESMEN UNDERLINED THE NEED FOR EVACUATION OF THE TOTALITY OF SAHARAN TERRITORIES THE CONDITIONS THE FRONT DEMANDED FROM MAURITANIA, AS REPORTED IN OFFICIAL ALGERIAN PRESS, WERE:

- (1) RECOGNITION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SAHARAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC "IN ITS INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNISED FRONTIERS" AND RESPECT FOR ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.,
- (2) RESTITUTION OF THE SECTOR OCCUPIED BY MAURITANIA., AND
- (3) WITHDRAWAL OF MAURITANIAN FORCES TO THE 1960 FRONTIERS.
- THE EIGHT SPANISH FISHERMEN FROM THE CANARY ISLANDS CAPTURED IN SAHARAN WATERS WERE RELEASED BY THE POLISARIO AS A GESTURE IN RECOGNITION OF THE PRESENCE AT THE CONGRESS OF A REPRESENTATIVE OF SPANISH GOVERNMENT PARTY (UCD).

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEPPMAND CABINET
ONA
JIO

14 September 1978.

1196

Algiers, Emb.

CANBERRA

UNCLASSIFIED

412/1

1117

#### COMMITTEE OF 24 : WESTERN SAHARA

As we indicated in our cable 0.UN 11949, the Polisario Front delivered a strong and uncompromising statement on Western Sahara in the Committee of 24 on 28 August 1978.

2. The only other participants in the debate were the Congo and Cuba, both of which made brief statements of support for the Polisario Front. The Committee then decided on the proposal of the Chairman, "to continue consideration of the item at its next session, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give at its forthcoming session".

(R.S. Morris) Second Secretary

A/AC.109/L.1266

A/AC.109/PV.1124

Working Paper on Western Sahara prepared by the Secretariat. Provisional Verbatim Records of the 1124th meeting of the Committee of 24.

In south

# Pess Release

Office of Public Information Press Section United Nations, New York

Special Committee of 24 on decolonization 1124th Meeting (AM)



GA/COL/1966 28 August 1978

#### DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE CONDEMNS NUCLEAR COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Hears Statements on Western Sahara, Defers Further Consideration to 1979;

To Take Up Question of Puerto Rico This Afternoon

The Special Committee of 24 on decolonization strongly condemned this morning "the continued collaboration of certain Western countries and other States with South Africa in the nuclear field" and called on all Governments to "refrain from any collaboration with that regime which may enable it to produce nuclear materials and to develop nuclear weapons".

The Committee took this action by adopting, as amended, by a vote of 22 in favour to none against, with two abstentions,\* a resolution on activities of foreign economic interests which are impeding the process of decolonization (documents A/AC.109/L.1269, 1274 and 1275).

Statements in explanations of vote before the vote were made by Sweden, the Ivory Coast and Chile. Fiji spoke in explanation of vote after the vote.

The resolution was adopted following the adoption of amendments proposed by Iraq and Mali, respectively, on the wording of the text (documents A/AC.109/L.1274 and 1275). Australia and Sweden declared that they would not participate in the adoption of the proposed amendments.

In other action this morning, the Committee took up the question of the Western Sahara and decided to continue consideration of this item at its next session, in 1979, "subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connexion at its forthcoming session".

The decision came after the Committee heard a petitioner from the Front Populaire pour la Liberation de Saguiet el Harma et du Rio de Oro (FOLISARIO) and statements by the representatives of the Congo and Cuba.

The Committee will meet again at 3 p.m. today to take up the question of Puerto Rico.

(more)

<sup>\*</sup> The result of the vote announced at the meeting was 21 in favour to none against, with three abstentions. However, the result was corrected after the meeting to 22 in favour with 2 abstentions.

#### Resolution on Economic Interests



Under the resolution adopted this morning, the Special Committee reiterated that "any administering or occupying Power which deprives the colonial peoples of the exercise of their legitimate rights over their natural resources or subordinates the rights and interests of those peoples to foreign economic and financial interests violates the solemn obligations it has assumed under the Charter of the United Nations" (document A/AC.109/L.1269).

The Committee also reaffirmed that "by exploiting and depleting the natural resources of Zimbabwe and Namibia in association with the illegal racist minority regimes, the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests violate the rights of the peoples of those Territories, contribute to the strengthening of the racist minority regime and to their continued colonialist domination over those Territories and constitute a major obstacle to political independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of those Territories by the indigenous inhabitants".

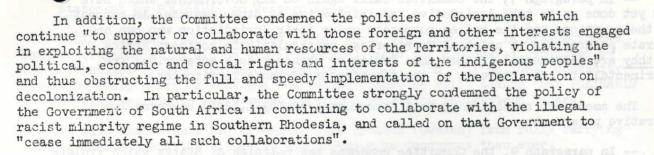
In other provisions of the resolution adopted this morning, the Committee called again on all Governments which had not yet done so to "take legislative, administrative or other measures in respect of their nationals and the bodies corporate under their jurisdiction who own and operate enterprises in colonial Territories, particularly in southern Africa, as they are detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories, in order to put an end to such enterprises and to prevent new investments that run counter to the interests of the indigenous inhabitants". It requested all States "to refrain from any investments in, or loans to, the minority racist regimes in southern Africa and to refrain from any agreements or measures to promote trade or other economic relations with them".

Also, the Committee condemned "all violations of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council, as well as the continued failure of certain Member States to enforce those sanctions against the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)". It expressed the conviction that "the scope of sanctions against the illegal regime should be widened to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter".

The Committee requested all States "to take effective measures to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance, including military supplies and equipment, to those regimes which use such assistance to repress the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements". It called on all States "to discontinue all economic, financial or trade relations with the racist minority regime of South Africa concerning Namibia and to refrain from entering into any relations with South Africa purporting to act on behalf of or concerning Namibia, which may lend support to its continued illegal occupation of that Territory".

The Committee strongly condemned "collaboration of certain Western countries and other States with South Africa in the nuclear field which, by supplying the racist regime with nuclear equipment and technology, enables it to increase its nuclear capability". It called on all Governments to refrain from any collaboration with that regime which may enable it to produce nuclear materials and to develop nuclear weapons.

(more)



The Committee invited "all Governments and organizations within the United Nations system, having regard to the relevant provisions of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, contained in General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI) of 1 May 1974, and of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States contained in Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX) of 12 December 1974, to ensure in particular that the permanent sovereignty of the colonial Territories over their natural resources is fully respected and safeguarded.

Further, the Committee called on the administering and occupying Powers to "review the wage system prevailing in the Territories under their administration with a view to eliminating any discrimination in wages and conditions of work and to apply in each Territory a uniform system of wages and working conditions without discrimination".

Finally, the Committee requested the Secretary-General to undertake, through the Office of Public Information (OHI) "a sustained and wide publicity campaign aimed at informing world public opinion of the facts concerning the pillaging of natural resources and the exploitation of the indigenous populations by foreign monopolies and the support they render to colonialist and racist regimes".

#### Amendments Adopted

The amendments by Iraq (document A/AC.109/L.1274) concern three operative paragraphs of the resolution:

- -- In paragraph 4, the Committee condemns the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial Territories as impeding (rather than "which are" impeding) the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization (revised wording underlined);
- -- In paragraph 5, the Committee would have condemned the policies of Governments which continue to support or collaborate with those foreign economic and other interests engaged in exploiting the natural and human resources of the Territories, "which are" violating the political, economic and social rights and interests of the indigenous peoples and which are obstructing the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration in respect of those Territories. In the revised text, the Committee "condemns the policies of Governments which continue to support or collaborate with those foreign economic and other interests engaged in exploiting the natural and human resources of the Territories, violating the political, economic and social rights and interests of the indigenous peoples and thus obstructing the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration in respect of those Territories";

-- In paragraph 7, the Committee calls again on all Governments which have not yet done so to take legislative, administrative or other measures in respect of their nations and the bodies corporate under their jurisdiction who own and operate enterprises in colonial Territories, particularly in southern Africa as they are detrimental (rather than "which or whenever such enterprises are" detrimental) to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories.

The amendment submitted by Mali (document A/AC.109/L.1275) concerns two operative paragraphs:

- -- In paragraph 9, the Committee condemns the policies of States which violate the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council, rather than condemns "all violations of the mandatory sanctions";
- -- In paragraph 10, the Committee invites the Security Council to consider the adoption of appropriate measures (under Article 41 of the Charter) rather than expressing the hope that the Security Council will consider the adoption of such measures.

#### Explanations of Vote

In explanation of vote before the vote, KURT AXEL BO HEINEBACK (Sweden) said the resolution dealt with one of the most important aspects of decolonization. His delegation fully supported measures aimed at the elimination of economic interests which clearly impeded implementation of the General Assembly Declaration on decolonization. However, his delegation was disappointed that the text of the resolution which resulted from intensive consultations had had to undergo changes. The language of the resolution was now general and sweeping, whereas his delegation had hoped to see "less categorical and absolute formulations".

In view of those reservations, he would abstain in the voting, he stated.

KOFFI KOUAME (Ivory Coast) said not all economic activities impeded decolonization process. Some of those activities could be regarded as obstacles, but it would be an exaggeration to label all economic activities as impediments to decolonization. Despite such reservation, he would vote in favour of the resolution.

SIGISFREDO MONSALVE (Chile) said his delegation would vote in favour despite certain "serious reservations". Chile believed the activities of foreign economic interests in colonial Territories were not always obstacles to decolonization "Radicalization of positions" instead of consensus was not the way the Committee should conduct its work.

In explanation of vote after the vote, ARYODAY LAI (Fiji) said he regretted that the resolution had not been adopted by consensus. He supported the resolution, as he believed foreign economic activities impeded decolonization. However, economic activities undertaken in full consultation with the colonial peoples concerned should not be condemned. That reality should have been reflected in the text.



#### Statement by POLISARIO on Western Sahara

MAGID ABDALIAH, representative of the Front Populaire pour la Liberation de Saguiet el Harma et du Rio de Oro (POLISARIO), said the manoeuvres conducted by the adversaries impeded the decolonization process. The international community should be fully aware of what was now taking place, he said, adding that POLISARIO was the only legitimate representative of the people of the Western Sahara.

He said that events had prevented Olof Rydbeck (Sweden) from fully carrying out his mission, and the situation had become more dangerous than ever.

Decolonization of the Western Sahara, he said, had been a matter of consideration in the international community for over a decade. He said the frontier claims rarely had been challeneged after clear delimitation was recognized by Spain and France, until the expansionist ambitions of Morocco had surfaced. He went on to say that the political attitude of the Moroccan sultans also had aggravated the situation.

Reviewing the history dating back to the mid-eighteenth century, he said the "realistic" positions taken by the Moroccan sultans at that time conformed to the geographic and political delimitations of the region. All treaties signed throughout the past centuries clearly defined the national boundaries.

He said the Saharan and Mauritanian peoples had a long relationship and, when the French arrived in the area, a treaty of geographical demarcation between the two countries was signed, which also set down the duties and obligations of the two countries and peoples. The obligations concerning boundaries had been clearly set out in a series of treaties, including the Charter of the Organization of African Unity(OAU).

He said the Western Sahara was one of the last Territories under colonial occupation today. Legitimacy of the struggle of POLISARIO stood on the principles spelled out in the 1960 General Assembly Declaration on decolonization.

He then reviewed the recent history of the Western Sahara, and said that Spain had declared, in 1973, that it stood behind the aspirations of the peoples in the Territory. In 1975, Spain also had declared in the Security Council that a peaceful solution should be found to the question of the Western Sahara. Morocco had urged that the people of the Territory should freely exercise their right to self-determination: this position had been supported by Mauritania.

He said the review of the positions of the three Governments recalled the commitments made by them concerning the fate of the Western Sahara. However, the problem of colonialism remained, and the peoples of the Western Sahara were left to struggle for their independence. The parties concerned, and the United Nations, should abide by their commitment and obligations. Spain should discharge its moral and historical obligations, while the neighbouring countries should recognize the right of the people fighting for freedom and independence.

brought up to date the information before the Counities on this question. He formally proposed that the statement should (erom) fore, be reproduced in extensu

He said the "criminals" continued to undermine the work of those fighting for self-determination. The course of events also undermined the credibility of the United Nations.

He said the "great tragedy" of the people of the Western Sahara was a consequence of the actions of Spain, Morocco and Mauritania which disregarded their international obligations under the United Nations Charter and which resorted to violence.

The report of the United Nations Mission, he said, clearly pointed out the aspirations of the people of the Sahara and the legitimacy of POLISARIO. Action should be taken now in accordance with the decisions by the international community. Mr. Rydebeck's Mission should also be considered as an important, integral part of the United Nations action, he said, adding that that Mission was prevented from fully discharging its mandate. The results of that Mission should be fully reported to all United Nations Member States.

For the past three years, he said, the parties involved had pretended that no war existed in the Saharas. The war of liberation, however, continued to expand. The war of aggression against the Saharas was also ruining the Moroccans as well as any others who assisted in the "criminal" war.

He said POLISARIO had freed the majority of the people in the Territory. The "enemy" had sent in additional African soldiers, however, the fight for liberation would succeed. The enemy army had pursued the policy of deporting families, thus further aggravating the situation.

He said international solidarity continued to grow, especially with the Arab nations: 16 States recognized the Sahara as a State, and 50 States recognized POLISARIO as the sole legitimate representative of the people of the Sahara.

The POLISARIO Front, he said, had unilaterally decided on a temporary cease-fire in the Territory, so as to allow the present Mauritanian Administration to pull out of the war criminally waged by its previous administration.

As long as the enemy forces clung to their policies, the war for liberation would continue, he said.

The United Nations remained the only true framework within which a solution to this "war of genocide" could be found. If the United Nations was sincere in its desire to find a solution to the question of the Sahara, a just and lasting solution should be sought and found. Any action should be based on realism, and the first people to be contacted should be the POLISARIO, the sole legitimate representative of the people in the Territory, he declared.

#### Views Expressed

RAPHAEL MALONGA (Congo) said the statement by the representative of POLISARIO brought up to date the information before the Committee on this question. He formally proposed that the statement should, therefore, be reproduced in extenso.

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Press Release GA/COL/1966 28 August 1978



MIGUEL SANCHEZ (Cuba) said the military presence in the Territory affected the process of decolonization. The POLISARIO struggle was a just struggle against the colonial presence.

Reviewing the report of the United Nations Mission to the Territory, in May 1975, he said any decolonization of the Territory should be on the basis of the will of the people and should be equal to independence. The United Nations had the obligation to help the people in the Territory achieve self-determination.

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY



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A/AC.109/PV.1124 28 August 1978

ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 1124TH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Monday, 28 August 1978, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania)

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Statement by the Chairman Question of Western Sahara

Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in Southern Africa (continued)

Organization of work

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A/AC.109/PV.1124

#### The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN: Because the delegation of Iraq is not yet present, and since it has introduced a series of amendments to the draft resolution to which the Committee was to address itself at this point, and also because in my view some consultations could be undertaken between the delegations of Iraq and Mali on amendments that seem to be similar but require some clarification, which would facilitate the Committee's work, I would suggest that the Committee take up the item concerning the activities of foreign economic and other interests as its second item, in the hope that by the time the Committee has finished its consideration of the item on the question of Western Sahara all those concerned with the other item will be present.

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA (A/AC.109/L.1266)

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat (A/AC.109/L.1266).

As members are aware, we have received a request for a hearing on this item from the delegation of Frente POLISARIO, led by Mr. Hakim Ibrahim and composed of Mr. Magid Abdallah, Mr. Mansour Ahmed and Mr. Boujamara Sidi. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Committee accedes to the request for a hearing.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: In accordance with the decision just taken I now invite Mr. Ibrahim and Mr. Abdallah to take places at the petitioners' table.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim and Mr. Abdallah (Frente POLISARIO) took places at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Magid Abdallah.

Mr. ABDALLAH (Frente POLISARIO) (interpretation from French): It is a great honour for us to be able to speak here before the Committee on Decolonization. It is an honour because the presence of Frente POLISARIO in this Committee is an expression of the commitment of the United Nations to the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence.

The policy of lies and manoeuvres conducted by the aggressors to distract the United Nations from its mission of decolonization of the Sahara and its duty towards the people of the Sahara is, happily, crumbling, and the international community is now becoming aware of the real facts and where justice and legality lie.

The presence of the delegation of Frente POLISARIO - the only legitimate representative of the Saharan people, which is struggling for its independence - at this meeting three years after the criminal colonial invasion of our country by Morocco and its accomplices, reaffirms, if, indeed, that is necessary, the will of the United Nations not to capitulate before the aggressors' rebellion vis-à-vis the pertinent resolutions that have been adopted.



Here it is appropriate to pay a tribute to the various missions that were sent by the United Nations to the Sahara for the courage and the integrity that they displayed in the fact of provocations and manoeuvres on the part of Morocco and its accomplices.

However, we have found that the follow-up undertaken by the United Nations organs in response to the conclusions of the missions to the Sahara were not commensurate with the legitimate aspirations of our people.

If a rational, responsible and realistic evaluation had been made of the report of the fact-finding commission of 1975 which was led by Ambassador Siméon Ake of the Ivory Coast and if consideration had been given to the circumstances that prevented Ambassador Rydbeck from continuing his mission after the twenty-ninth session, the situation would certainly not have been as grave as it is now, and the United Nations would have acted in full accordance with the Charter and with resolution 1514 (XV), and prevented a situation in which this part of Africa is plunged into a fratricidal struggle whose consequences for co-operation, peace and stability are now extremely dangerous.

The question of the decolonization of our country has been before the Committee of 24 for over a decade. The various elements, the facts and the objectives in this question are certainly not ambiguous. Spanish Sahara is a Territory which was penetrated by the colonialists in 1884. The Saharan people, which lived in freedom before the European colonial invasion, was politically and socially organized within its geographical and historical boundaries, which were confirmed by the delimitations of the various colonies.

This explains the fact that boundary claims were only rarely raised between Spain, which was the colonial Power in the Sahara, and France, which was the colonial Power in Morocco and Mauritania. Sahara, as a country which had historical boundaries, was always an insurmountable obstacle to the ambitions and expansionism of the Moroccan sultans towards Sahelian Africa. Thus, several colonial Moroccan expeditions destined for Mali were denied the right of passage by the Saharan authorities.

Beyond those historical and irrefutable facts, the political and official behaviour of the Moroccan sultans gives further proof of the independence of our country in its relations with its neighbours and of the will of

the Saharan people to preserve its national and sovereign identity.

Positive international law is a boundless source of examples of treaties that reaffirm this situation.

In 1767, King Charles III of Spain, having asked the Sultan of Morocco, Mohamed ben Abdellah, to act on behalf of Spanish nationals in the Sahara, received the Sultan's response that the Sahara was in no way under his sovereignty. Under the terms of article 8 of the Treaty of 18 March 1767, which was signed on that occasion, the King of Morocco declared that:

"His Moroccan Majesty will abstain from deliberating on the subject of the settlement which his Catholic Majesty wishes to establish to the south of the Moun River because he cannot consider himself responsible for accidents and sufferings that might ensue, bearing in mind that the sovereignty of His Majesty does not extend that far and that the inhabitants have consistently brought harm to the inhabitants of the Canary Islands and have often taken them captive".

That realistic position is in conformity with the geographical and political limits of the region and was reaffirmed by Moroccan leaders on every pertinent occasion. The treaty of 1 March 1799, called the Meknès Treaty; the Anglo-Moroccan Treaty of 9 December 1856; and the Treaty of 20 November 1861 in its article 38 all stipulated that Moroccan sovereignty was bounded in the south by Oued Moun. This was also confirmed by the Treaty of the French Protectorate in 1912.

The Maghreb specialists, historians and geographers are no less affirmative in that regard. Thus, in 1832, in his book entitled <u>Kitab el Istiqsa Fi Akhbar el Maghreb el Aqsa</u>, the historian El Alaoui wrote that the western Moroccan region was bounded in the east by the Moulouja and the Taza mountains, in the north by the Mediterranean, and in the south by the Atlas. The Atlas is a chain of mountains to the south of which is located the Sahara and to the north of which is Morocco. It is therefore a mountainous boundary between two ways of life and civilization and also the geographical boundary between our two countries. This was the view, also, of the famous historian Ibn Khaldoun.

With regard to our southern neighbour, Mauritania, the independence of the Sahara can be described by the non-existence of any sovereign ties and by the geographical boundary of the two countries. Between the Saharan and the Mauritanian peoples there have certainly been fraternal and friendly political relations, but there have also been divisive wars.

And then when the French came to settle Mauritanian territory around 1905, they accepted the geographical boundaries that existed between our two countries.

A geographical treaty of good neighbourliness and of recognition of the political identity and sovereignty of the Sahara was signed by Colonel Goureaud, the Commissioner of the French Government in Mauritania as well as by a delegation of Ait Arbain, which was the representative of the Saharan people. The treaty, which related to the passage of persons and goods across the boundaries between the two countries, stated that persons and goods of the Saharan tribes, which were from then on considered as friends of France, would be respected everywhere they came into contact with the French and their caravans could circulate freely in the territories of Mauritania. The Saharans also undertook to abide by French political and administrative regulations and, in particular, before entering territories subject to France, to apply to the French posts in order to receive a laissez-passer and to pay the Ousourou tax. The Saharans on the other hand undertook the obligation never to arm against the French, not to make any raids against the tribes under French authority nor to give asylum or assistance in their camps to enemies of the French.

All international treaties governing relations between Sahara and its neighbours are based on the international law observed by the international community in accordance not only with the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of African Unity and with resolution 1514 (XV), but also with the law of succession of States. Hence in this more recent case the obligations concerning delimitations of territories contained in the General Act of Berlin, of 26 February 1885, concerning acceptance and reproduced subsequently by the Act of Saint Germain of 10 December 1919, constitute, with respect to the charter of the Organization of African Unity, an obligation for each African State. This rule is a sacred principle. It was established in 1963 at Addis Ababa as a virtual rule of jus cogens regarding the sacrosanct peture of African borders inherited from colonialism.

The aggressors must thus respect this rule, and the international community, within the framework of its regulations, must impose on the aggressors a code of conduct in keeping with their commitments as Members, albeit rebellious ones.

Western Sahara is one of the last African Territories still under colonial rule. It is a country which has been dominated by some of the most cynical and, hence, least acceptable forms of colonialism.

The Saharan people, the fate and destiny of which cannot be dissociated from that of other African peoples, is fighting for its right to self-determination and independence and for the liberation of its country - first of all, from Spain alone, and now from Morocco, Mauritania and Spain.

The legitimacy of our struggle falls within the framework of the sacred right of every people to determine its own destiny. That is why the United Nations, in accordance with Article 13 of the Charter, assigned this matter to your Committee in order to help our people to exercise its legitimate, imprescriptible and inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

Morocco and its accomplices in the crime against our people have themselves voted for, if not provoked, the relevant resolutions of the United Nations reaffirming the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence. As far as the administering Power is concerned, Spain has even appeared before the International Court of Justice in defence of that right.

Although a brief reference to the record of decolonization of the Sahara, which is in the hands of the United Nations, might suffice to demonstrate the extent to which the aggressors respect self-determination and independence for the Sahara, we would prefer to quote from certain specific documents in order to refresh the memories of those who seem to have forgotten.

On 21 September 1973, exactly four months after the unleashing, on 20 May 1973, of armed struggle by the Frente POLISARIO to achieve the independence of Western Sahara, the Spanish Government addressed the following statement to the United Nations:

"The Spanish State reaffirms that the Saharan people, whose age-old association with the Spanish people is and has always been absolutely voluntary, is the sole master of its destiny, and that no one is entitled to violate its wishes. The Spanish State will defend the Saharan people's freedom and desire for self-determination. The Spanish State guarantees the integrity of the Sahara ... The Spanish State reaffirms and solemnly guarantees that the people of the Sahara shall determine their own future."

On 6 November 1975, in a statement in the Security Council, the Spanish representative stated:

"... no peaceful solution to the problem of the decolonization of the Sahara can be conceived of outside the framework of the United Nations or in contradiction of the resolutions of the General Assembly, the basic premise of which is the right of the people of the Sahara to self-determination." (S/PV.1854, p. 12)

On 8 November 1965, the representative of His Majesty the King of Morocco stated in the Fourth Committee as follows:

"The only course to follow is to allow the people to participate freely, without any foreign domination, in the management of their own affairs."

On 7 November 1966, he stated:

"Since June 1966 Morocco has urged that the people of the Territory be authorized to exercise their right to independence and self-determination." On 1 December 1972, in the Fourth Committee, he stated:

"Morocco wishes to come to the United Nations to discuss in good faith the question of self-determination under United Nations control."

On 7 June 1966 the representative of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania stated in the Special Committee, which was meeting in Addis Ababa, his full agreement with Morocco regarding the Spanish Sahara's right to freedom.

That Territory, he said, should be completely independent of Spain, but also, of course, of Morocco.

On 7 December 1966, again in the Fourth Committee, he stated:

"In the context of world-wide decolonization, Mauritania is motivated by a desire to promote the interests of the people of Spanish Sahara and their inalienable right to self-determination and independence."

On 15 December 1966, in that same Committee, the Mauritanian representative called for the faithful and democratic implementation of the principle of self-determination for the indigenous inhabitants of the Spanish Sahara. It was essential, he said, for all inhabitants to be able to take part in the proposed referendum, and, he continued:

"The fact that Morocco is mentioned in the resolution in connexion with the Sahara is in no way tantamount to recognition on the part of the Mauritanian Government of any rights that Morocco might have over that Territory. Morocco can express interest in the future of that area only as a neighbouring State."

What comes to mind after this brief summary is the conviction that the three countries have entered into solemn commitments towards the international community of which they are members to abide by these resolutions. These commitments cannot be shrugged off unless the entire framework within which they were entered into or the party concerned were themselves to disappear. As we know, that is not the case. The Saharan people and their Territory have not disappeared from the map, and the need for the Saharan people to exercise their right to self-determination and independence is an overriding need because those people are still being subjected to colonialism and are still fighting for their independence, and consequently the application of the principles and resolutions of the United Nations advocated by the three countries remains an obligation. Furthermore, these States - Morocco, Mauritania and Spain - continue to exist as international entities, and the United Nations, within whose framework these commitments were entered into, also remains.

Spain's commitments flow from a debt of honour and morality towards a people that it colonized nearly a century ago and regarded as a friend and from obligations under Article 73 of the Charter and United Nations resolutions. It cannot simply, by waving a magic wand, reverse those obligations and adopt a criminal, unfair and inadmissible attitude. Morocco and its accomplices in these crimes against our people, not only as border countries, have obligations under the United Nations Charter and under resolution 1514 (XV), to help people fighting for their independence and their liberation from colonialism; and as members of the international community and of the third world they have an overriding duty to help us to recover our sovereignty and to breathe the air of freedom, instead of trying to divide us and exterminate us.

The truth is that the defiant course chosen by the criminals responsible for the colonialist and expansionist invasion of the Sahara is a very dangerous precedent as regards the trust and confidence which peoples fighting for their independence have in the United Nations. This precedent, which is characterized by an attempt to divert the normal process of the decolonization of a territory,

is all the more important in that it has come at a time when the United Nations is preparing, under its own auspices, the process of decolonization in areas of Africa still under colonial and racial domination. If the United Nations does not assume its responsibility to prevent this criminal enterprise carried out against the Saharan people in disregard of their sacred, inalienable and imprescriptible rights and also in disregard of the conclusions contained in the reports of the United Nations missions, the political solutions chosen by the United Nations and advocated by it will remain at the discretion of the colonizers and their accomplices. We must live up to our responsibilities and understand the seriousness of the consequences which flow from the rebellion of States Members of the United Nations in regard to United Nations resolutions.

The tragedy of the Saharan people, which has plunged that part of Africa into a war the dimensions of which are unpredictable, is the consequence of an attempt by Morocco, Mauritania and Spain to avoid their commitments under international resolutions and the result of their attempt to choose violence rather than the course of wisdom and justice.

It will be recalled that the General Assembly sent a mission to Western Sahara to set in motion the process of the exercise of self-determination and independence under United Nations control, and that was to take place in accordance with resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. After considering on the spot all the aspects of the situation in the colony, the mission submitted a very clear and detailed report. It is clear from the report that the Saharan people demand independence and that the dominant political force there is Frente POLISARIO. The United Nations now has no other choice than to carry out its mission to decolonize the Sahara. The International Court of Justice decided that the Saharan people should exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), and the Security Council ordered that the countries responsible for the aggression should refrain from any unilateral acts which might impede the normal process of decolonization begun by the United Nations.

There is another matter that is not much discussed in the reports of the executive bodies of the United Nations, but it is one of no less importance. It is Ambassador Rydbeck's mission, and I would say that, unless there is a double standard, it should most certainly be considered as part of the United Nations intervention in the Sahara. That mission is one of the most important aspects of the record of decolonization of the Sahara in the hands of the United Nations, and I should say that the United Nations has an overriding obligation to consider that mission. Mr. Rydbeck's mission was disrupted, in an arrogant and provocative way, by the

authorities in Rabat and Nouakchott at the time. However, the Saharan Government did draw your attention to the possible serious consequences of impeding that mission, and Frente POLISARIO stated that it was determined to co-operate with the United Nations in its decolonization mission in the Sahara and asked the Secretary-General and other authorities in the United Nations to discharge their responsibilities, in particular by reporting to Member States on the results of that mission, the purpose being to make it possible for every State to follow the developments of the case. Our impression is that, regrettably, the tragic consequences of the rebellion of the parties to the crimes committed against the Sahara have not been properly considered by this Committee.

The result has been that the situation has worsened, war has broken out and is being intensified, and if it is not stopped it will take on dimensions that will exceed the power of the peoples in the area. Those with a sense of responsibility must require the aggressors to opt in favour of wisdom and realism. The aggressors must face the dictates of history and realize that they have committed a fatal mistake, first by underestimating the will of people fighting for their liberation in accordance with their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, and then by underestimating the ability of those people to thwart any attempts to pursue a policy of occupation and expansionism.

Morocco and its accomplices in the crime against us have for three years been taking advantage of the good faith of the international community by denying not only the seriousness of the war but even its very existence. That is the formula of which the Committee is aware and which was put forward by the Moroccan Government and the overthrown Mauritanian Government, which claimed before international bodies that indeed there was no war. Hence they made desperate attempts to minimize the seriousness of the war and to advance the idea of a fait accompli.

However, the fact that each day this war of liberation and the heroic resistance of our people are expanding shows that Morocco and Mauritania, under its former Government, have undertaken a criminal adventure, plunging our region in a colonial war against an African people. But, like all colonial wars, the military expedition in the Sahara will gradually wear out the aggressors themselves.

This war of aggression against the Saharan people, for which
King Hassan II and former President Moktar Ould Daddah are responsible,
is also ruining Morocco and any other aggressor whose economic potential is being
tapped, and yet for all that they will not be able to accomplish their ignoble
aim of colonizing the Sahara. Indeed, while the Saharan people is
consolidating its resistance and gaining strength under its national government,
its enemies are digging their own graves and getting bogged down in this unjust
and criminal war whose outcome will be the same as that which history reserves
for colonial adventures.

The recent events in Mauritania offer proof of this, and the persistency of His Majesty the King of Morocco in his adventure will bring Morocco to the same situation.

Today our people, organized under the sole and legitimate leadership of
Frente POLISARIO, has liberated the major part of its homeland, over which it
is exercising sovereign control, and the Saharan people's army of liberation
retains the initiative in the combat zones. Faced with inability to occupy
the Sahara by its own forces, the enemy has called upon military expeditions
from outside Africa. But, regardless of alliances of invasion or colonial
reconquest, the struggle of the Sahara people is irreversible until
the total liberation of its country.

To the criminal policy of concentration camps and repression pursued by the army of occupation and its accomplices, our people is responding by closing ranks and a determination to meet the challenge posed by the crimes of the occupation forces.

As we have pointed out in other documents, the army of the enemy is carrying out in the occupied towns a policy of terror, of deportation of persons and families. We wish particularly to draw the attention of the international community to these crimes against human dignity being committed today by the occupation forces, a policy of colonization of the Sahara by Moroccan nationals displaced for this purpose.

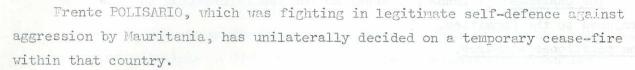
We for our part are sure that the stepping up of plots and criminal enterprises against our people will but strengthen its national unity and its determination to recover its sovereignty and serve to consolidate the international solidarity that we enjoy.

That growing international solidarity, which is becoming more and more active, is taking the form of strengthening and expanding political and diplomatic relations between the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and other States and political organizations throughout the world.

We wish here to hail the friendly countries and organizations that, at this time of trial for our people, have recognized the Frente POLISARIO and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. Here we should like to recall that 16 States have recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and maintain diplomatic relations with it, while 50 countries have recognized Frence POLISARIO as the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people.

Another source of encouragement for our struggle and proof that the international community is making common cause with us is the refusal of international organizations to accept the division of Western Sahara, thereby reaffirming the right of our people to self-determination and independence - hence the failure of the so-called tripartite agreement of Madrid, which in any case is null and void.

The events that have recently occurred in Mauritania have prompted the Mauritanian Government to realize that the country has been ruined by the war and to declare its intention to withdraw from the war.



That decision was motivated by the determination of Frente POLISARIO to help Mauritania withdraw from a war which is not its own, for, under its former Government, it was dragged into a criminal adventure. We believe that a historic opportunity has thus been afforded it to lead it out of this war of genocide, an enterprise undertaken to exterminate its brothers.

The Saharan people has always been in favour of peace and stability, the only guarantees for restoring beneficial co-operation not only among the peoples of the region but beyond with the international community.

It is obvious that, as long as Morocco clings to its desperate attempt to divide and annex the Sahara, the war will intensify, thus preventing the political action which we hope will take the place of arms.

The Saharan people is aware of its responsibility in the area, and that is why, once it has recovered total national sovereignty, it will guarantee its willingness to pursue a policy of co-operation and good-neighbourliness with other States in the area and work towards objective and realist conditions for unity throughout the region.

The United Nations remains for us the genuine framework within which to seek a way out of this war of genocide against our people, although it is true that another State, if it should have a sincere and genuine desire to help find peace, can play a role within this framework.

Whatever happens, the United Nations, which remains legally and politically seized of the question, in accordance with its decolonization mission, is the framework from which the question of the Sahara cannot be removed until a just and lasting solution is found in keeping with the will of the Saharan people to consolidate its national independence within the context of the total and definitive integrity of its country.

However, any action whatever its origin must not only be taken in a spirit of wisdom but above all be founded on reality; that is, that the principal party is Frente POLISARIO, the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people. Any other kind of initiative would be utopian and within the policy of manoeuvres of the aggressors.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank Mr. Abdallah for the information that he has furnished to the Committee.

The petitioner withdrew.

Mr. MALONGA (Congo) (interpretation from French): We have just heard a very important statement made by the representative of Frente POLISARIO. It is not the intention of my delegation to analyse that statement. However, we should like to say that that statement not only refreshed our memory because it contained interesting historical data but it also gave this Committee first-hand information concerning present-day conditions of life of the Saharan people, a people which has a right to independence and self-determination in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

The significance of the statement of the representative of Frente POLISARIO prompts us to propose formally that it be reproduced <u>in extenso</u> in the record of this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN: The statement made by the representative of Frente POLISARIO will certainly be reproduced in extenso inasmuch as the proceedings of this Committee are always reproduced in the verbatim record.

Mr. SANCHEZ (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): We were very pleased to hear the well-documented and important statement made by the representative of Frente POLISARIO. We do not wish to let this occasion pass without making a brief statement on our part. It is quite clear that the consideration of the question of Western Sahara by our Committee is very timely because the colonial situation which led to this discussion has not been resolved and is in fact becoming more complex owing to the military presence in the Territory which affects the exercise of self-determination and independence by the Saharan people.

That right is endorsed not only by the purposes and principles established by the United Nations in its Charter and its relevant resolutions, but also by the just struggle which the Saharan people, led by their legitimate representative, Frente POLISARIO, are waging, first against Spanish colonialism and then against foreign forces acting in collusion with a former colonial Power which is trying to bring back colonial times and is supporting a war of occupation in the Territory.

We should like to refer to a few aspects of the report of the visiting mission of May 1975, in which our country had the honour of participating, along with some other countries. Parts of the report state that the people favour independence, are opposed to the territorial claims of Morocco and Mauritania, and support the objectives of Frente POLISARIO.

Our delegation would like to state once again that any decolonization solution in the region should be on the basis of the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence after all the aggressive forces in the Territory have been withdrawn.

We should not like to conclude without saying that the resolutions on the Sahara adopted by the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries remain relevant. They all call for a peaceful solution of the problem, proclaim the right of the people to independence and state that it is the obligation of the United Nations to search for a just solution for the Saharan people.

The CHAIRMAN: As there are no other speakers and having heard the statement by the petitioner, may I take it that the Committee decides to continue consideration of the item at its next session, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connexion at its forthcoming session, and, in order to facilitate the Fourth Committee's consideration of the question, the Committee may wish to authorize the Rapporteur to transmit to the Assembly all available information relating to the item.

If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Committee so decides.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: We have thus concluded our consideration of the question of Western Sahara for the time being.

ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERESTS WHICH ARE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND IN ALL OTHER TERRITORIES UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION AND EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (A/AC.109/L.1269, L.1274, L.1275) (continued)

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has before it the draft resolution contained in document A/AC.109/L.1269 and amendments submitted thereto. We shall first consider the amendment submitted by Iraq in document A/AC.109/L.1274 to operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution.

Mr. MALONGA (Congo) (interpretation from French): My delegation has examined the amendment to operative paragraph 4 submitted by the delegation of Iraq in document A/AC.109/L.1274. We feel that the words "as impeding", while not basically presenting any major difficulties, could still cause some confusion or controversy. That is why my delegation would propose the words "because they impede" instead of "as impeding". The paragraph would then read:

"Condemns the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial Territories because they impede the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples ..."

The remainder of the paragraph would remain without change.

Mr. KHALEF (Iraq): At our last meeting I suggested that my two amendments be distributed in order to give delegations time to read them and to reflect upon them. I do not see that the term "as impeding" causes any substantial change. This term is the same as that used in the recommendation of the Committee of 24. In order to save time and to accelerate our work, I would request the representative of the Congo not to insist upon his wording.

The CHAIRMAN: Will the representative of Congo accept the appeal addressed to him by the delegation of Iraq, bearing in mind that as it stands the text really does not in any way significantly differ in meaning from that suggested by the delegation of Congo?

Mr. MALONGA (Congo) (interpretation from French): Certainly, in view of the time element, I do not want to start a long discussion. Our delegation simply wanted to make a proposal that would strengthen and clarify the text and avoid controversy. But if the members of the Committee wish to accept the amendment of the delegation of Iraq we shall of course gladly withdraw our amendment.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Congo for his co-operation.

Mr. MORRIS (Australia): As I stated at our last meeting, there is much in the text of this draft resolution that we cannot accept. In this case, we can accept neither the existing text nor the amendment.

Having said that, I shall not participate in the voting on the various amendments to the draft resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Australia. His position and his decision not to participate in the voting on the amendments will, of course, be reflected in the record.

Mr. HEINEBACK (Sweden): As I shall make some brief comments later that will clarify the Swedish position, at this stage I just want to say that Sweden will not participate in the voting on the amendments.

The CHAIRMAN: May I take it that, with Australia and Sweden not participating, the Committee approves the amendment to operative paragraph 4 proposed by Iraq (A/AC.109/L.1274)? If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now consider operative paragraph.

There are two amendments to this paragraph, one by Iraq (A/AC.109/L.1274) and one by Mali (A/AC.109/L.1275).

Mr. KHALEF (Iraq): After consulting with my colleague the representative of Mali concerning our two amendments to operative paragraph 5, we have come to the conclusion that the amendment suggested by my delegation and contained in document A/AC.109/L.1274 is the one to be inserted in the main text. However, there is a small change in wording. The word "thus" in the third line should be moved to the fourth line, between the words "and" and "obstructing", so that the text reads, "... and thus obstructing the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration in respect of those Territories". The Secretariat has been informed of this change.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now proceed to consider the amendment to operative paragraph 5 suggested by the representative of Iraq, as slightly amended. On the understanding that the delegations of Australia and Sweden will not participate, may I take it that the Committee adopts this amendment?

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now consider operative paragraph 7. The amendment suggested by Iraq is contained in document A/AC.109/L.1274. With the same understanding, may I take it that the Committee approves that amendment?

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now consider operative paragraph 9 and the amendment suggested by the delegation of Mali (A/AC.109/L.1275). In the same spirit, may I take it that the Committee approves that amendment?

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now consider the suggestion of the delegation of Mali (A/AC.109/L.1275) concerning operative paragraph 10. In the same spirit and understanding, may I take it that the Committee approves that amendment.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now consider the draft resolution in document A/AC.109/L.1269 as a whole, as amended. The delegation of Australia has requested that a vote be taken on the draft resolution as a whole. Before we proceed to the vote, does any delegation wish to express its position?

Mr. HEINEBACK (Sweden): Before we vote on the draft before us, my delegation would like to make the following comments.

This draft resolution deals with one of the most important aspects of the process of decolonization. In a number of ways the draft points out the many dangers that might arise from the existence of foreign economic and other interests in colonial Territories. In view of the weakness of those Territories and their populations, on the one hand, and the enormous strength of many of the foreign interests, on the other, it goes without saying that we, as members of this Committee, have a special responsibility to make all efforts to contribute to the protection and defence of the interests of the peoples of the colonized Territories.

My delegation therefore feels no hesitation in expressing its support for measures aimed at the elimination of such economic or other activities as are detrimental to or impede efforts to get rid of colonialism and particularly apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

Having said that, however, my delegation at the same time feels obliged to express its disappointment that the text that was worked out during extensive discussions among members of the Committee, in which we took an active part, did not remain unchanged. Although we still had a few difficulties with the draft resolution as it appears in document A/AC.109/L.1269, we found that text acceptable. After some amendments have now been made, the text has become less satisfactory to us, however.

Our major concern is that the language of the resolution is very generalized. For instance, in a very sweeping way it condemns activities of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial Territories as impeding the process of decolonization. Just as sweepingly, it condemns the policies of Governments co-operating with such interests, implying thereby that they are all violating the political, economic and social rights of the indigencus peoples and thereby also obstructing the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on Decolonization in respect of those Territories. Moreover, it calls upon all

(Mr. Heinebäck, S



Governments to take measures in respect of their nationals and bodies corporate that own and operate enterprises in colonial Territories - assuming thereby, evidently, that all such activities are detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories. We should have liked to see less categorical and absolute formulations.

(Mr. Heinebäck, Sweden)

My Government has always held the view that this draft resolution has a special bearing on the situation in southern Africa. Conditions there must in several respects be viewed differently from those prevailing in other colonial Territories. The draft resolution reflects this fact to a certain extent, but not sufficiently.

In view of these reservations, my delegation will regretfully abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.

Mr. KOUAME (Ivory Coast) (interpretation from French): The position of my delegation on the subject-matter of the draft resolution contained in document A/AC.109/L.1269, which will be put to the vote now, is very well known. We never thought that all foreign economic activities were prejudicial and would impede the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence, as prescribed by the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV).

Although some of those activities, because of the character of the entities involved, could be regarded as obstacles to the freedom of action of freedom-fighters in certain colonial Territories, it would certainly be an exaggeration if we claimed that this was so in every colonial Territory. I am thinking specifically of the very small Territories. I know that they are in great need of economic help for their own future, and it is for this reason that my delegation feels that it is perfectly normal to uphold operative paragraph 1 of this document which reads:

"Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of dependent Territories to self-determination and independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of their Territories, as well as their right to dispose of those resources in their best interests".

Our policy in the Ivory Coast is to prompt the Administering Authorities to ensure economic development in the best interests of the populations they administer. We would not favour a policy of a void or that, those Territories still being economically dependent, all economic activities should cease, so that when they become independent they should start from scratch. This was never our view in the Ivory Coast.

(Mr. Kouame, Ivory Coast

Because of this principle, which is reaffirmed in operative paragraph 1, my delegation will vote in favour of the text because is it is a problem of decolonization and because the Ivory Coast is an African country. We are strongly dedicated to the cause of decolonization, and it would be most difficult for us to take a stand against any such text of the Committee on decolonization. But I hope that general and specific reservations concerning the adoption of the draft resolution will be reflected in the record of this meeting.

Mr. MONSALVE (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Chile is going to vote in favour of the draft resolution notwithstanding our serious reservations concerning certain paragraphs. We are doing this in order to bear witness to our anti-colonialist policy and out of support for the peoples still under the colonial yoke.

The delegation of Chile believes that the activities of foreign economic interests in colonial Territories is not always and in every case an obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). Furthermore, we believe that generalizations, such as those that appear in the draft resolution that we are about to adopt, do not contribute to the work of the Committee on decolonization; nor do they duly take into account the interests of the colonial peoples, whose protection should be our sole goal and objective.

We consider furthermore that the radicalization of positions as an alternative to a consensus is not the best way to promote negotiations, nor does it contribute to the spirit of goodwill and compromise which should prevail in this Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution in document A/AC.109/L.1269 as amended.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 22 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

Mr. LAL (Fiji): My delegation very much regrets that we were unable to adopt the draft resolution on foreign economic activities by consensus. However, my delegation supported the draft resolution as a whole just adopted because we are opposed to those economic activities which, in fact, do constitute impediments to the exercise by the colonial peoples of their right to self-determination in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV).

Moreover, we are firmly opposed to economic activities undertaken with the illegal régimes in southern Africa. However, we believe that such economic activities as those undertaken in full consultation with the representatives of the colonial peoples could facilitate their economic development. Considerations of this type could, we believe, have been more fully reflected in the draft resolution just adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has concluded its consideration of the item.

#### ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to inform members of the Committee that we are having a great deal of difficulty in getting appropriate conference rooms in which to hold our meetings. This being the case, in spite of the desire of the officers of the Committee that we hold two meetings a day in order that we may conclude our work, it has not been possible to get the necessary conference room facilities in order to do so. As things stand right now, therefore, we have a meeting this afternoon only because we have a bigger room, and we have one meeting scheduled for tomorrow afternoon so far. We are still trying, whenever possible, to hold two meetings a day.

Bearing in mind the number of speakers that we have at our disposal for the item due to be considered this afternoon and on subsequent days, I should like to urge all members of the Committee to be punctual so that we can start sufficiently early and be able to dispense of the responsibilities before us.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

# 935/28/2



# GENERAL ASSEMBLY



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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION
WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING
OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES
AND PEOPLES



# WESTERN SAHARA

#### Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

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WESTERN SAHARA

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#### 1. GENERAL INFORMATION

- 1. Western Sahara is situated on the Atlantic coast of north-west Africa. It has a total area of about 266,000 square kilometres and a coastline 1,062 kilometres long.
- 2. Western Sahara is bounded on the north and north-east by Morocco and Algeria and on the south and east by Mauritania. Its land frontiers are 2,045 kilometres in length, the frontier with Mauritania being 1,570 kilometres long and that with Morocco and Algeria 475 kilometres. The Territory consists of two regions, Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro, which form an integral part of the great Saharan Desert.
- 3. The climate of Western Sahara is very dry with enormous differences between nocturnal and diurnal temperatures. There is very little cultivation, except in some low-lying areas in the south which are watered by occasional rainfall.
- 4. Phosphates, the mining of which began in 1974, constitute the main economic resource of Western Sahara.
- 5. The indigenous population of Western Sahara is nomadic and pastoral and is comprised for the most part of persons of Moorish, or bedouin descent. The principal tribes in the Territory are the Erguibat, the Ait Lahsen and the Ulad Delim. These tribes are also found in Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria.

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- 6. In accordance with the Declaration of Principles, also known as the Madrid Declaration, a/which it signed on 14 November 1975 with Morocco and Mauritania, Spain terminated its presence in the Territory on 26 February 1976. On withdrawing from Western Sahara, the administering Power transferred its powers to a temporary administration comprising the Spanish Governor-General and two deputy governors, one each nominated by Morocco and Mauritania.
- 7. On 14 April 1976, Morocco and Mauritania signed an agreement whereby the frontier between Mauritania and Morocco was defined by the straight line linking the point of intersection of the 24th parallel north and the 13th meridian west. With the frontier thus defined, the northern part of Western Sahara was integrated into Moroccan territory and the sourthern part into Mauritanian territory. The Algerian Government, which had opposed the Madrid Declaration, accused the Spanish

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a/ Cfficial Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.

Government of repudiating its obligations with respect to the decolonization of the Territory and of handing over the Territory to Morocco and Mauritania.

- The Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) declared that the Saharan people considered "the agreement concluded between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania as null and void and as an act of aggression and banditry" and reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence.
- 9. The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, proclaimed on 27 February 1976 by the Frente POLISARIO, has been recognized by 15 countries: Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Congo, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mozambique, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles and Togo. and and absorb and the doken notice yes an hadrabon more win-

#### 3. CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

- 10. By its resolution 32/22 of 28 November 1977, which was adopted without objection, the General Assembly, inter alia, reaffirmed its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; expressed the hope that a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara would be speedily achieved, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, at the extraordinary session of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) devoted to that question, to be held shortly in accordance with the decisions taken at the thirteenth b/ and fourteenth c/ ordinary sessions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU; decided to resume consideration of the question of Western Sahara at its thirty-third session; requested the Special Committee to keep developments in the matter under review and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session; requested the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU to inform the Secretary-General of the progress achieved in the implementation of the OAU decisions concerning Western Sahara; and invited the Secretary-General to report on the question to the General Assembly as soon as possible and not later than at its thirty-third session.
- ll. The positions of Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco and POLISARIO were reflected in their statements in the Fourth Committee. d/

b/ See A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.

c/ See A/32/310, annex II.

d/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Fourth Committee, 10th meeting. Addition added to bloom be added to be added t Laurago to setsmilel ... tuo beirras

4. CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION BY THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

12. During the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU held at Khartoum in July 1978, it was reported that the Assembly had passed a compromise resolution setting up an ad hoc commission of five heads of State under the chairmanship of President Gaafar Nimeiri of the Sudan, who is currently the OAU Chairman. The task of this commission is reported to be to study "all the facts" in the Western Sahara dispute, including the exercise of the people's right to self-determination, in preparation for a special summit to discuss the issue. By this resolution, President Numeiri is requested to proceed with consultations regarding the establishment of the commission and to convene it as early as possible. The resolution calls on all States in the north African region to abstain from undertaking any action which might impede the search for a just and peaceful solution of the problem. The resolution also calls on the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU to prepare a report on the Sahara question to be submitted to the OAU Council of Ministers at its thirty-second ordinary session and calls upon him to bring the present resolution to the attention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in view of the continued involvement of the United Nations in the question of decolonization in Western Sahara.

#### 5. ARMED CLASHES

- 13. Press reports indicate that armed clashes have continued to take place between the forces of the Frente POLISARIO and those of Morocco and Mauritania. Although these reports and communiqués are often conflicting, on the basis of the various accounts available it appears that several locations both within the Territory and in Morocco and Mauritania have been affected.
- 14. Reportedly, among the main targets of the Frente POLISARIO have been Mauritanian economic centres. Several attacks were reportedly launched at points along the Zouérat-Nouadhibou railway line between January and June 1978. Although the attacks were initially directed at outposts along the railway line, the Frente POLISARIO has reportedly begun a new tactic of destroying railway cars and tracks. Installations belonging to the Société Minière de Mauritanie at Tmeymichatt have also reportedly been attacked.
- 15. It will be recalled that the 600 kilometre rail link serves to transport the iron-ore mined at Zouérat to the port of Nouadhibou. This iron-ore accounts for 85 per cent of Mauritania's foreign trade revenue. On 23 December 1977, the Frente POLISARIO released eight French nationals whom it had been holding hostage since the previous May following a raid by the Frente POLISARIO on the town of Zouérat. The eight were released in Algiers and handed over to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
- 16. POLISARIO and Moroccan forces are reported to have clashed inter alia, in May and June 1978 at Sken in southern Morocco and at Oum Dreiga in Western Sahara which is reported to be a stronghold of the Frente POLISARIO from which attacks on the Zouérat-Nouadhibou railroad are carried out. Estimates of casualties vary widely.

- 17. In keeping with the agreement between Mauritania and Morocco of joint co-operation in the field of defence signed on 13 May 1977, Morocco has sent two battalions of soldiers to Zouérat and has stationed soldiers at Dakhla, Bir Moghrein, Ain-Bentiti, Nouadhibou, Asar and Akjouj to help Mauritania fight the Frente POLISARIO. Moroccan planes have reportedly also been involved in action against guerrillas of the Frente POLISARIO. Moroccan F-5 squadrons are now reportedly based at El Aaiún, Dakhla and Nouadhibou from where they are said to make regular flights to intercept forces of the Frente POLISARIO.
- 18. In November 1977, French planes based at Dakar reportedly began carrying out daily reconnaissance missions over Mauritania at the request of the Mauritanian Government. In response to a reported Mauritanian request for "more positive French intervention and Air Force support of Mauritanian ground operation", French aircraft are said to have carried out air strikes on guerrillas of the Frente POLISARIO.
- 19. On 3 May 1978, French Jaguar fighter planes reportedly went into action against the guerrillas at the request of the Mauritanian Government. In addition to the Jaguar fighter planes, the French are reportedly using Atlantic-Breguet long-range reconnaissance planes in the area.
- 20. There are conflicting reports about casualties inflicted on these French fighters by the Frente POLISARIO.
- 21. In April 1978, it was reported that the Frente POLISARIO had seized eight Spanish fishermen off the coast of Western Sahara. Reports indicate that the seizure was apparently a reprisal against Spain for ratifying a fishing agreement with Morocco the previous February. The agreement refers to the Western Saharan fishing banks as being "under the territorial jurisdiction" of Morocco. At the time, the Frente POLISARIO had accused Spain of provocation and has since reiterated on several occasions that it would take action to support its claim that the waters off the coast of Western Sahara are a part of the territory of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and hence should be considered as a part of the "war zone".
- 22. On 17 June, it was reported that the fishermen were being held and would be tried on charges of "theft" according to the laws of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.
- 23. Reports indicate that the number of refugees from Spanish Sahara is growing. The 1975 United Nations visiting mission to the Territory reported 7,000 refugees living in Tindouf. e/ In 1976, however, in a request to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for international aid, Algeria estimated that the refugees numbered between 45,000 and 50,000 persons mainly women and children, living in approximatley 20 camps in the Tindouf area (see E/1978/75, paras, 80-82). There are conflicting reports as to the actual number of refugees.

e/ Ibid., Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/10023/Rev.1), vol. III, chap. XIII, annex, para. 362.

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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#### WESTERN SAHARA

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Polisario's National Council Vice Chairman, Bashir Mustafa Said (or Bashir Mustapha Sayed), and members Beiruk Salah and Mohamed Embarec Facala visited Dar Es Salaam last week and were expected to leave this week for Addis Ababa. Bashir Mustafa Said, who was also described as Vice Chairman of the Polisario Military Command, told the press that his delegation's aim was to put the Western Sahara issue in perspective following the overthrow of Ould Daddah and that "our concern today is to end the hostilities on the Mauritanian Front". He claimed that Polisario had the support of most of the OAU and that at least fifteen members, most progressive ones, recognised the Saharan Democratic Republic.

- 2. Mustafa Said was predictably most concerned over the intervention in the Western Saharan situation of the French whose position and intentions "had been so clearly explained" by Nyerere. The delegation expected to see Tanzanian party and government leaders, OAU Liberation Committee officials and representatives of other liberation movements.
- 3. Commenting editorially on 22 August, the "Daily News" described the Western Saharan issue as "one single hottest issue in international forums": saw Polisario as the only party making a move for a peaceful settlement: and noted Morocco was seeking US arms to intensify the war. The editorial concluded that:

"If the United States, whose F-5 bombers are already being used against Polisario positions, supplies arms to Morocco, Africa will have no choice but to list her along with France whose air force has already intervened on the side of the occupation forces. The war has already been internationalised.

Africa has already condemned Western interference in Africa. And the question of Western Sahara needs not only support for Polisario freedom fighters, but also a recognition of what they are fighting for. The liberation struggle in the Maghreb is part of the broader struggle for African liberation."

Priv - copes for CSA and UN folded Dechar pls.

.../2 .

4. Although in the report of his meeting with Pius Msekwa, National Executive Secretary of the Party CM), Mustafa Said was reported as saying he had me to seek Tanzania's recognition of the Sahara Democratic Republic as it would have tremendous impact on the Saharan struggle, he does not appear to have succeeded.

F.W. Truelove (High Commissioner) DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# INWARD CABLEGRAM 935 28/2 935/21/5

O.UNI1949 MB2/DA TOR 1044 29.8.78

0.UN11949 1740 28.8.78 UNC

TO. RR CANBERRA/1525

FM . NEW YORK UN /

UNCLASSIFIED

COMMITTEE OF 24

BELIZE GIBRALTAR AND WESTERN SAHARA

ON 25 AUGUST COMMITTEE DECIDED WITHOUT OBJECTION TO GIVE CONSIDERATION TO BELIZE AND GIBRALTAR AT ITS NEXT SESSION, "SUBJECT TO ANY DIRECTIVES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY". ON 2B AUGUST, AND AFTER HEARING A STATEMENT FROM COMMITTEE THE POLISARIO GRONT AND TWO BRIEF SUPPORTING STATEMENTS FROM CONGO AND CUBA, THE COMMITTEE DECIDED TO HANDLE IN THE SAME FASHION THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA.

PUERTO RICO

COMMITTEE BEGAN ITS CONSIDERATION OF PUERTO RICO ON 28 AUGUST. SPEAKERS I OD AY INCLUDED ROMERO-BARCELO, GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO. AS OF 28 AUGUST SOME 44 PETITIONERS HAVE BEEN LISTED TO SPEAK.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ON A
JIO

ACTION: IO AME

SEC DEP SECS EX MC O FAS(SEP) LA FAS(NSA) FAS(WES) ASP EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR) INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) FAS(MFS)

935/28/2

SETTLEMENT OF THE WESTERN SAHARA CONFLICT IS IMPOSSIBLE UNLESS
THE POLISARIO FRONT IS INCLUDED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, POLISARIO POL I SAR10

DELEGAT MAGID ABDULLAH SAID TODAY.

MR. DULLAH, IN A LONG STATEMENT TO THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

S SPECIAL DECOLONISATION COMMITTEE, DECLARED THAT ANY OTHER

PROCEDURE WOULD BE ''UNREALISTIC''.

THE UNITED NATIONS, HE SAID, WAS THE ''REAL FRAMEWORK IN WHICH TO PUT AN END TO THIS GENOCIDAL WAR''.

THE SAHARAN PEOPLE WERE PREPARED TO CARRY OUT A POLICY OF THE SAHARAN PEOPLE WERE PREPARED TO CARRY HAD RECOVERED

THEIR NATIONAL SOVERIGNTY, MR. ABDULLAH CONTINUED.

THE UNILATERAL CEASEFIRE PROCLAIMED BY POLISARIO AFTER THE COUP IN MAURITANIA LAST MONTH WAS ""MOTIVATED BY ITS DESIRE TO HELP MAURITANIA TO EXTRICATE ITSELF FROM A WAR THAT WAS NO

WAR THAT WAS NOT

ITS OWN'', HE SAID.

ALTHOUGH THE CHANGE OF REGIME IN NOUAKCHOTT PRESENTED A ""HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY" TO END THE CONFLICT, THE FIGHTING WOULD INTENSIFY SO LONG AS MOROCCO HUNG ON TO THE PART OF THI WESTERN SAHARA IT HAD ANNEXED, THE POLISARIO REPRESENTATIVE

#### DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# INWARD BB MESSAGE

O.AL2636 LFJ

AL 1130 2.8.78 CLA

TOR 1213 17

TO.

BB CANBERRA / 174

RP.

BB PARIS EMB / 150 NEW YORK UN / 71 CAIRO / 66

FM. ALGIERS / FILE 801/2

RESTRICTED

ALGIERS: MONTHLY SUMMARY FOR JULY 1978

The month was something of a "high season" for Algerian diplomacy with the 15th OAU Summit at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July and the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference at Belgrade from 25 to 29 July. In this context, the unexpected coup d'état in Mauritania on 11 July gave encouragement to Algerian hopes for movement on the Western Sahara problem. With the Polisario Front having halted operations against Mauritania in response to the change of government, Algeria now hopes that Mauritania, if not Morocco, may be drawn into a negotiated settlement.

- The OAU Summit was relatively favourable to the Algerian interest. The Algerian delegation gained a measure of success by isolating Morocco and securing the passage of a resolution which maintains the proposal for a special OAU Summit on the Western Sahara and, additionally, provides for a special ad hoc committee, to be convened by the OAU President, to examine all aspects of the problem, including, specifically, the question of self-determination. Algeria failed, however, to have the Summit take up the Canary Islands as an issue.
- 3. Another positive development during the month was a meeting between Algerian Foreign Minister Bouteflika and French President Giscard d'Estaing at Paris on 12 July. Talking to the press afterwards Bouteflika indicated a more moderate and relaxed attitude to relations with France, which have been embittered by French military involvement in the Western Sahara and elsewhere in Africa.

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# INWARD BB MESSAGE

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ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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DEP SPL TDE REP
DEP PM AND CABINET
DEP FINANCE
ONA
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ACTION: AME

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FAREP(S-M-P)
AD AB (DIR) FAS(BP) PPR SEAP PAAP FAS(PTO) IOL PDC
ACCRA ANKARA BELGRADE BONN BRUSSELS CAIRO DAR ES SALAAM
THE HAGUE JEDDAH LAGOS LONDON MADRID MALTA MOSCOW NAIROBI
NEW DELHI NEW YORK UN NICOSIA PARIS EMB PEKING PRETORIA
TEHRAN TEL AVIV VIENNA WASHINGTON

## INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.BE3338 DJM 3/DA TOR 2135 17.8.78

0.BE3338 1200 17.8.78 CLA

TO. RR CANBERRA/1787

RP.
RR PARIS EMB/21 ALGIERS/01 BELGRADE/050
RR WARSAW/129 VIENNA/058 MOSCOW/084

FM. BERLIN EMB

CONFIDENTIAL

WESTERN SAHARA

ALGERIAN SPECIAL AMBASSADOR FROM PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENNE
DR TIDJENI HADDAM VISITED BERLIN ON 11 AUGUST WITH LETTER FOR STATE
AND PARTY LEADER HONECKER. ALGERIAN CHARGE RETICENT BUT SAID VISIT
WAS PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH SITUATION IN SAHARA AND WAS
CONNECTED WITH POSSIBLE MOVES FOLLOWING RECENT CHANGE OF
GOVERNMENT IN MAURITANIA. HE WOULD NOT BE DRAWN ON CONTENTS
OF LETTER, BUT SAID THAT THE HADDAM HAD ALSO VISITED SOFIA AND
ALBANIA ON THE SAME MISSION AND WENT NEXT TO MONGOLIA. OTHER
SPECIAL AMBASSADORS HAD GONE TO THE OTHER SOCIALIST BLOC COUNTRIES.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO FAS(WES) EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) IO FAS(PCR) INF FAS(LT) FAS(MFS)

## INWARD CABLEGRAM

0.PA6742 MR12/NIV TOR 0705 8.8.78

0.PA46742 1800 7.8.78 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/8921 ALGIERS/386

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RR NEW YORK UN/638 LONDON/798 WASHINGTON/1096
RR CAIRO/244 MADRID/178
BB LAGOS/20

FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7 REF 0.AL2619, 0.PA45989

RESTRICTED

WESTERN SAHARA : NEW MOVES FOR SETTLEMENT

VISITS TO PARIS BY NORTH AFRICAN LEADERS SINCE THE RECENT CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN MAURETANIA INDICATE THAT A NEW EFFORT IS BEING MADE, UNDER FRENCH SPONSORSHIP, TO RESOLVE THE WESTERN SAHARA PROBLEM.

- 2. PRESIDENT GISCARD D 'ESTAING HELD DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NEW MAURETANIAN MINISTERS FOR EQUIPMENT AND FINANCE, LT-COL AHMED SALEM OULD SIDI AND MR SID AHMED OULD D 'NEIJARA ON 27 JULY. THE MAURETANIAN MINISTERS REPORTEDLY CARRIED A MESSAGE FROM THE NEW MAURETANIAN HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, MR OULD MOHAMED SALEK. THE PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN SUBSEQUENTLY SAID THAT AFTER THE MEETING THE PRESIDENT HAD INDICATED 'THAT FRANCE FAVOURS A PROCESS FOR THE RETURN OF PEACE TO THE WESTERN SAHARA AND THAT THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES NOW ENABLE PROGRESS TO BE MADE IN THE SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO ALL THE INTERESTED PARTIES'.
- 3. THE ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, MR BOUTEFLIKA, WAS RECEIVED BY GISCARD ON 1 AUGUST. AFTER THE MEETING BOUTEFLIKA TOLD THE PRESS THAT HE WELCOMED FRANCE'S INTEREST IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION AND THAT "THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS IMAGINED TO BE FRANCE'S ROLE IN THE REGION". HE ADDED THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WAS NOT PREJUDGING THE POSSIBLE SOLUTION AND THAT IT WAS LOOKING FOR "THE MEANS TO BRING ABOUT A JUST SOLUTION". BOUTEFLIKA WENT ON TO SAY SOME ENCOURAGING WORDS ABOUT AN IMPROVEMENT IN FRANCO-ALGERIAN RELATIONS. PRESS ANALYSES SUGGESTS THAT THE 1 AUGUST DISCUSSION FOCUSSED ON BOTH PROCEDURE (HOW TO BRING ALL THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE TO THE SAME TABLE) AND SUBSTANCE (HOW TO GRANT A "CERTAIN AUTONOMY" TO THAT PART OF THE WESTERN SAHARA ANNEXED BY MAURETANIA).

# INWARD CABLEGRAM

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4. THE WESTERN SAHARA WAS ALSO REPORTEDLY DISCUSSED AT A MEETING BETWEEN GISCARD AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE IVORY COAST, MR HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, ON 2 AUGUST. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY TOLD THE PRESS AFTER THE MEETING THAT HE WOULD ASSIST IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION IF ASKED AND IF ACTION BY HIM APPEARED LIKELY TO BE USEFUL. HE WOULD NOT "AVOID HIS AFRICAN DUTY". LE MONDE HAS SUGGESTED THAT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY'S INVOLVEMENT WOULD HELP GIVE ANY SOLUTION AN "AFRICAN SEAL OF APPROVAL".

5. ON 3 AUGUST GISCARD RECEIVED MR REDA GUERIDA, AN ADVISER TO THE KING OF MOROCCO. THERE HAVE BEEN NO PRESS ACCOUNTS OF WHAT WAS DISCUSSED, BUT IT MAY BE SIGNIFICANT THAT THE MOROCCAN PRESS HAS REAFFIRMED THE MOROCCAN GOVERNMENT'S WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE AND ITS INSISTENCE ON MOROCCO'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

6. COMMENT. (UNDERLINE ONE) THESE VARIOUS MEETINGS AND REPORTS SUGGEST THAT THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN MAURETANIA HAS PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A FRESH ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THE WESTERN SAHARA PROBLEM. THE FRENCH HAVE A CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN DEFUSING THE SITUATION. THE DISPUTE AND FRANCE'S ROLE IN IT (PARTICULARLY IN SUPPLYING ARMS TO MOROCCO AND IN PROVIDING DIRECT MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE MAURITANIAN GOVERNMENT AGAINST POLISARIO FORCES) HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO A SOURING OF FRENCH RELATIONS WITH ALGERIA. POLISARIO'S CONTINUED ABILITY TO ATTACK MAURETANIA HAS ALSO PROBABLY ENCOURAGED THE FRENCH TO UNDERTAKE A NEW EFFORT TO FIND A SOLUTION. THE CURRENT DISCUSSIONS APPEAR TO BE FOCUSSING ON THE MAURETANIAN-HELD PORTION OF THE FORMER SPANISH TERRITORY. IF A FRENCH INITIATIVE DOES SUCCEED, IT WOULD BE A CONSIDERABLE TRIUMPH FOR THE FRENCH PRESIDENT.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
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O.MA6424 DJM 3/DRH TOR 0143 9.8.78

0. MA6424 1430 7.8.78 CLA

TO. RR CANBERRA/4105

RP.
RR NAIROBI/14 PARIS EMB/178 LAGOS/69
RR ALGIERS/47 LONDON/456 ACCRA/07
RR NEW YORK UN/75 DAR ES SALAAM/03 CAIRO/06
RR LISBON/1154 WASHINGTON/36

FM. MADRID /

CONFIDENTIAL

OAU SUMMIT - CANARY ISLANDS AND WESTERN SAHARA

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SUBDIRECTOR GENERAL, NORTH AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST) HAS INFORMED US THAT, ALTHOUGH SPAN HAD NO ACCREDITED OBSERVER AT OAU SUMMIT AND THEREFORE HAD SOME DIFFICULTY IN FINDING OUT EXACTLY WHAT WAS GOING ON ITS EMBASSY STAFF IN KHARTOUM HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BY COUNSELLORS FROM MADRID AND NAIROBI AND THERE WERE ACCREDITED SPANISH PRESS REPRESENTATIVES, SO THAT INDIRECTLY THEY HAD BEEN ABLE TO ACQUIRE A GOOD DEAL OF INFORMATION. "FIRENDLY NEGOTIATIONS" HAD BEEN VERY HELPFUL, HE SAID.

2. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE CANARY ISLANDS QUESTION HAD BEEN BROUGHT UP SEVERAL TIMES IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS IN THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETING AND THE SUMMIT MEETING WHICH OVERLAPPED. HE REMARKED ON THE CLEVERNESS AND SUBTELTY WITH WHICH THE ALGERIANS HAD RAISED THIS QUESTION, GIVING AS AN EXAMPLE THE PROPOSAL IN THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEEREFERRING TO THE "TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF AFRICA AND THE ISLANDS SURROUNDING THE CONTINENT" IN THE CONTEXT OF TERRITORIAL WATERS. WHEN THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THIS HAD BEEN REALIZED, HE SAID, THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISSATISFACTION THAT IT HAD BEEN RAISED IN THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, AND, ALTHOUGH THE PROPOSAL WAS ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, 19 COUNTRIES VOTED AGAINST IT IN THE SUMMIT SO THAT IT DID NOT RECEIVE THE REQUIRED TWO THIRDS MAJORITY.

3. THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE IN DAR ES SALAAM AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IN TRIPOLI (INCLUDING THE PROPOSAL FOR FINANCIAL AND OTHER SUPPORT FOR CUBILLO'S CANARY ISLANDS INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT, MPAIAC) WERE CONSIDERED BRIEFLY, HE SAID BUT WITHOUT MUCH INTEREST. ALGERIA TRIED TO SECURE THEIR ADOPTION TOWARDS THE END OF THE LONG NIGHT SESSION JUST BEFORE THE CLOSE OF THE CONFERENCE. THIS

CONFIDENTIAL

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2-0.MA6424

IRRITATED A NUMBER OF THE DELEGATIONS, WHO CONSIDERED THE QUESTION IRRELEVANT IN THE FACE OF MANY MUCH MORE SERIOUS PROBLEMS. AS A RESULT IT WAS DEFERRED UNTIL THE NEXT SUMMIT.

- 4. OUR INFORMANT SAID THE SPANISH AUTHORITIES WERE VERY HAPPY WITH THESE RESULTS, WHICH THEY CONSIDERED A "SUCCESS", A "TRIUMPH" FOR THEIR METHOD OF HANDLING THE PROBLEM AND THE EFFORTS OF THE MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THEIR DIPLOMATS AND THE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATIONS THAT HAD VISITED SO MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES. HE SAID A NUMBER OF THESE COUNTRIES HAD BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE FACT THAT THESE WERE ALL-PARTY DELEGATIONS, THAT THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT'S VIEW WAS SUPPORTED BY ALL SHADES OF POLITICAL OPINION FROM THE RIGHT TO THE LEFT.
- 5. TO THE SUGGESTION THAT ALGERIA WOULD NOT EASILY DROP THE QUESTION BUT THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE TO PLAGUE SPAIN, BOTH DIRECTLY THROUGH ALGERIAN SUPPORT FOR CUBILLO AND INDIRECTLY IN AN OAU CONTEXT, HE SAID THAT WAS SO, BUT THAT NOW IT WOULD BE MERELY LIKE A STONE IN ONE'S SHOE, AN IRRITANT TO THE FOOT, BUT NO SERIOUS PROBLEM TO THE BODY AS A WHOLE. HE SAID THE AFRICANS HAD CLEARLY INDICATED THEIR PRESENT ATTITUDE TO ALGERIA'S MANOEUVRES BY THEIR IRRITATION AND/OR INDIFFERENCE, AND THAT OVER THE NEXT TWELVE MONTHS THE CANARY ISLANDS "WOULD NOT MOVE ANY CLOSER TO AFRICA" SO THAT THERE WAS NO REASON WHY THE AFRICANS SHOULD BECOME ANY MORE INTERESTED IN THEM THAN THEY ARE NOW.
- WITH REGARD TO THE FORMER SPANISH SAHARA OUR INFORMANT SAID THIS WAS A TOTALLY DIFFERENT PROBLEM AND ONE THAT DID NOT ITS IMPORTANCE TO SPAIN WAS MERELY THAT CONCERN SPAIN VERY MUCH. THE SPANIARDS HAD BEEN THERE IN THE PAST, NOT IN RELATION TO ANYTHING IN THE PRESENT OR THE FUTURE. WHEN WE QUESTIONED THIS VIEW, WITH REFERENCE TO ALGERIA'S INTEREST IN SECURING CONTROL (DIRECT OR INDIRECT) OF A PORT ON THE ATLANTIC AND THE PROMIMITY OF SUCH A PORT TO THE CANARY ISLANDS, THE PROBLEMS FOR SPANISH FISHERIES IN THAT AREA, AND THE EFFECT ON MOROCCO OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN SAHARA, HE BRUSHED THESE POINTS ALGERIEA'S INTERESTS ARE JUST AS IMPORTANT TO SPAIN ASIDE. AS MOROCCO'S HE SAID, AND SPANISH FISHERIES IN THE WATERS OFF THE WESTERN SAHARA ARE ONLY A SMALL PROPORTION OF TOTAL SPANISH FISHERIES. HE SAID SPAIN WAS SATISFIED WITH THE OUTCOME OF THE OAU SUMMIT'S CONSIDERATION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA QUESTION (THAT IS, A COMMITTEE OF 5 OR MORE HEADS OF STATE UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF NURIERY WILL STUDY THE QUESTION AND REPORT TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND A SPECIAL DAU SUMMIT MEETING), AND HE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS FIELD.

# CONFIDENTIAL

# INWARD CABLEGRAM

3-0.MA6424

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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ACTION: AME EUR

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# 935/28/2 FOREIGN AFFAIRS CENTUM REGISTRY

10 UN Political Section.

DATE.

21 July 1978

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252/3

SEQUENCE

509

THE POLISARO FRONT IN EUROPE SUBJECT.

Please find attached a copy of a letter dated i3 July 1978, from the Representative of the Polisaro Front in Europe, Mahmoud Abdelfettah.

Mr Smll

file Freemans.

(Helen Freeman) Second Secretary

3) Copy to un Political

ENCLOSURES ATTACHED

Puly se the Langthey worth the L. ? X. 2 Man \_\_\_\_\_\_ REPRESENTATION DU FRONT POLISARIO EN EUROPE le 13 juillet 1978 Monsieur, Nous avons l'honneur de vous transmettre la déclaration du frère Bachir Mustapha Sayed, secrétaire général adjoint du Front Polisario, relative aux derniers événements en Mauritanie. Cette déclaration atteste, une nouvelle fois de la bonne volonté du peuple sahraoui et de son représentant légitime et unique le Front Polisario et de ses intentions sincères, de contribuer de manière véritable au rétablissement de la paix dans cette région du monde, sur une basejuste et conformément aux chartes de l'O.N.U. et de l'O.U.A. Hautes considérations REPRESENTATION DU FRONT POLISARIO EN EUROPE Mahmoud Abdelfettah

# DECLARATION DU FRERE BACHIR MUSTAPHA SAYED, SECRETAIRE GENERAL ADJOINT DU FRONT POLISARIO

La guerre expansionniste contre le peuple sahraoui est la cause de tous les problèmes dans notre région.

Les peuples sahraoui, mauritanien et marocain ont lourdement souffert de ses conséquences injustes et criminelles.

Le redressement qui s'opère en Mauritanie est le signe que les peuples ne peuvent pas rester longtemps dans la résignation et faire les frais de l'entêtement d'irresponsables anti-nationaux.

Nous sommes sûrs ainsi qu'une situation plus grave prévaut aussi au Maroc et qu'il n'est pas impossible aux patriotes marocains de la dépasser.

Face ainsi au dernier des événements en Mauritanie, des instructions ont été données à l'armée de libération populaire sahraouie, pour cesser momentanément les opérations militaires en territoire mauritanien, comme geste de bonne volonté et par désir de ne pas augmenter la tension.

L'occasion est ainsi offerte aux nouveaux dirigeants en Mauritanie pour réviser la position criminelle du chef déposé, car c'est l'unique condition à tout redressement réel en Mauritanie.

Le 12 juillet 1978

@ 935/28/2

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

on 13 July 1978

sation with H.E. M. Maoui Abdul Aziz, Personal Envoy of President Boumedienne of Algeria; and M. Boukhari, Charge d'Affaires, Algerian Embassy, Jakarta.

Officers Present The Minister

MAIN SUBJECTS (S):

WESTERN SAHARA

FRENCH INTERVENTION IN AFRICA

The Minister welcomed M. Maoui who announced that the purpose of his visit was to hand over a special message to the Prime Minister from President Boumedienne on the subject of Western Sahara. The Minister said that he fully recognised the importance Algeria attached to the problem.

- M. Maoui said that his Government was concerned about the situation in Western Sahara which he said was becoming more and more serious. The situation had arisen as a result of Morocco and Mauritania's disrespect for United Nations In 1965, the international resolutions on the territory. community (viz the United Nations) called on Spain to liberate Spanish Sahara and to enter into negotiations with the people of Western Sahara on the country's future. Moroccan/Mauritanian agreement with Spain in November 1975, however, sought to change the status of Western Sahara without consulting its people. Algeria's sole aim in becoming involved in the dispute was to help the people of Western Sahara to determine their own future. It sought peaceful relations with its neighbours, Morocco and Mauritania. It had no territorial ambitions in respect of Western Sahara. Algeria, in addition to its initiatives in the United Nations, had sought a peaceful solution to the problems of Western Sahara through O.A.U. auspices.
- M. Maoui said that Algeria was also concerned about the involvement of French forces in the area. There was no good reason for their involvement in Western Sahara (M. Maoui mentioned that French aircraft had carried out strikes against Polasario in Mauritania and in the territory of Western Sahara) or elsewhere in Africa. African countries were/should be able to solve their own problems without foreign intervention. Previous French involvement in Africa had not inspired confidence.

DISTRIBUTION:

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Schultz)

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NAIROBI

PARIS

Report prepared by

PORT MORESBY

WELLINGTON WASHINGTON CAIRO

UN NEW YORK

DAR ES SALAAM ACCRA LAGOS PRETORIA

**JAKARTA** MANILA

CONFIDENTIAL

# CONFIDENTIAL

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- 4. M. Maoui said that Algeria considered that it had a responsibility to inform other governments and the United Nations about the problem of Western Sahara and with this purpose in mind he was pleased to hand-over a special letter from President Boumedienne addressed to the Prime Minister. In so doing he said that he appreciated the position the Australian Government had taken on the questions of colonialism and self-determination.
- 5. The Minister received the letter and said that he would bring it to the attention of the Prime Minister later that evening.
- The Minister replied to the envoy's representations saying that Australia had supported the "Algerian" resolution at UNGA 30 because we considered that it conformed with previous UNGA resolutions, with the report of the 1975 Committee of 24 Visiting Mission, and with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice in November 1975. Australia, as a member of the Committee of 24, endorsed the principle that self-determination was a necessary part of the decolonisation process. Australia hoped that a peaceful settlement could be agreed upon by the principal parties to the dispute.
- 7. The Minister, in thanking the envoy for his call, said that the Prime Minister would be replying to the President's message and that he would advise the Prime Minister to reply in the terms he had outlined in the discussion.

O.PA45989 TK/12/DR TOR 0252 18.7.78

0.PA45989 1730 17.7.78 CLA

TO. RR CANBERRA/8270

RP.
RR ALGIERS/381 NEW YORK UN/616 MADRID/175
FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7

CONFIDENTIAL

MAURITANIAN FOREIGN POLICY

PRESS REPORTS AND FOREIGN MINISTRY CONTACTS HAVE CONFIRMED THE VIEW THAT THERE HAS NOT REPEAT NOT BEEN AN ABOUT TURN IN MAURITANIA'S RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO.

- 2. IN A 12 JULY INTERVIEW WITH FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS, LIEUTENANT COLONEL OULD SALEK IS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID "WE CERTAINLY WILL ESTABLISH WITH MOROCCO A TIMETABLE TO BEGIN A PROCESS WHICH SHOULD UNDOUBTEDLY LEAD US TO PEACE, BECAUSE IF THE PEOPLE WANT PEACE THE MILITARY COUNCIL WILL DO EVERYTHING FOR THEM TO HAVE PEACE".
- 3. MAURITANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, SHEIK MOHAMED OULD LAGHDA LEFT RABAT ON 15 JULY AFTER A SHORT VISIT. PARIS PRESS REPORTS THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER INDICATED THAT IT WAS THE MAURITANIAN GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO REINFORCE THE MOROCCO-MAURITANIAN MUTUAL DEFENCE PACT CONCLUDED LAST YEAR.
- 4. MERILLON (DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS, FOREIGN MINISTRY) TOLD AMBASSADOR IN CONVERSATION AFTER DINNER ON 13 JULY THAT THE NEW REGIME IN MAURITANIA APPEARED TO BE ESSENTIALLY CONSERVATIVE AND BY NO MEANS ANTI-MOROCCAN, AS SOME NEWSPAPERS WERE SUGGESTING. IN ANY EVENT THE NEW LEADERS WERE MOVING VERY CAREFULLY IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO. THERE WAS NO DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT THEY WANTED A SETTLEMENT TO ENABLE MAURITANIA TO WITHDRAW FROM THE CONFLICT OVER THE SAHARA: THE COUNTRY WAS ECONOMICALLY CRIPPLED BY ITS INVOLVEMENT. FRANCE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SEE A SETTLEMENT OF THE SAHARA PROBLEM BUT WOULD NOT ABANDON HER FRIENDS.
- THAT THE NEW MODERATE LINE BEING TAKEN BY THE ALGERIANS ON THEIR RELATIONS WITH FRANCE WAS WELCOME. HERE AGAIN THE MAIN PROBLEM WAS THE SAHARA. THE ALGERIANS TOOK THE LINE THAT ALL OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FRANCE AND ALGERIA COULD BE RESOLVED IF FRANCE WOULD STOP SUPPORTING MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA. MERILLON SAID THAT FRANCE CERTAINLY WANTED GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALGERIA BUT DID NOT WANT THEM AS BADLY AS THE ALGERIANS SEEMED TO THINK.

### DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# INWARD CABLEGRAM

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 225/4/13 226/3/7

UNCLASSIFIED

FRANCO-AL GERIAN RELATIONS

ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTEFLIKA WAS RECEIVED BY PRESIDENT D'ESTAING ON 12 JULY. ON LEAVING THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE BOUTEFLIKA MADE STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS ON FRANCO-ALGERIAN RELATIONS AND THE CONFLICT OVER THE WESTERN SAHARA.

- 2. ON BILATERAL RELATIONS BOUTEFLIKA SAID 'THERE IS ALWAYS AN EVOLUTION AFTER A FRANK AND CORDIAL DISCUSSION, BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT IN SUCH A SHORT TIME, WE SOLVED ALL THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN ALGERIA AND FRANCE. EACH SIDE NOW KNOWS THE OTHER 'S POINT OF VIEW A BIT BETTER. THE COMMON DENOMINATOR IN FRENCH AND ALGERIAN POLICIES IS THAT WE ARE IN AGREEMENT ON THE NECESSITY TO MAKE PEACE AND STABILITY RETURN TO THE WHOLE REGION, WHICH CANNOT OCCUR FROM ALGERIA'S POINT OF VIEW WITHOUT JUSTICE'.
- 3. SPEAKING ABOUT THE RECENT EVENTS IN MAURITANIA, BOUTEFLIKA SAID "WE ARE VERY ATTENTIVE TO ALL THE INITIATIVES WHICH THE NEW MAURITANIAN LEADERS WILL TAKE TO REESTABLISH PEACE".
- 4. CONCERNING THE UNILATERAL CEASEFIRE DECLARED BY THE POLISARIO FRONT BOUTEFLIKA SAID 'WE HOPE THAT THIS PAUSE WILL LEAD TO A POSSIBILITY OF DIALOGUE'.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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COUP D'ETAT IN MAURIATANIA

AN INTERVIEW WITH LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OULD SALEK, BROADCAST IN MAURITANIA AND REPORTED IN PARIS PRESS CONFIRMS EARLIER INDICATIONS THAT MAURITANIA'S FOREIGN POLICY WOULD NOT CHANGE TACK.

2. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OULD SALEK IS QUOTED AS FOLLOWS:

"WE WILL, WITH THE FRATERNAL KINGDOM OF MOROCCO, FACE UP TO THE SAHARA PROBLEM AND WE ARE HOPING THAT A SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND BY THE TWO PARTIES. WE SEE THE FUTURE WITH SOME OPTIMISM DESPITE THE ENORMOIS DIFFICULTIES WE ARE GOING THROUGH."

- 3. AS KED ABOUT THE MOTIVES FOR THE OVERTHROW OF PRESIDENT OULD DADDAH, SALEK SPOKE ABOUT MAURITANIA'S 'ECONOMIC MORASS' AND 'BANKRUPTCY'. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A 'DAILY DANGER OF A REVOLT' AND THAT 'IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY ATTEMPT AT A SOLUTION TO THIS SITUATION THE ARMED FORCES DECIDED TO PUT AN END TO THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ANARCHY'.
- 4. THE MOROCCAN AUTHORITIES ARE REPORTED TO BE REASSURED. TWO ROYAL COUNSELLORS FLEW TO NOUAKCHOTT ON 11 JULY ON AN "INFORMATION MISSION". MOROCCAN INFORMATION MINISTER KHATTABI HAS CATEGORICALLY DENIED MAKING THE STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO HIM IN THE PRESS AND REPORTED IN OUR FIRST REFTEL.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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### DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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COUP D'ETAT IN MAURITANIA

PARIS PRESS REPORTS THAT COUP LEADER IS COLONEL MUSTAPHA OULD MOHAMED SALEK AND THAT LATEST INDICATIONS ARE THAT NEW MAURITANIAN LEADERSHIP IS "NATIONALIST AND PRO-WESTERN". WE HAVE NOT SEEN ANY POLICY STATEMENT FROM THE NEW LEADERS.

2. LE MONDE DATED 12 JULY REPORTS THAT NOUAKCHOTT RADIO
BROADCAST OF 11 JULY ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT.
THE NEW GOVERNMENT, HEADED BY COLONEL SALEK, COMPRISES 8 MILITARY
OFFICERS AND 8 CIVILIANS. POSTS HELD BY CIVILIANS INCLUDE FOREIGN
AFFAIRS, FINANCE AND JUSTICE. THE "MILITARY COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL
RECOVERY" (MADE UP OF 17 OFFICERS AND THE POLICE COMMISSIONER)
RETAINS CONTROL OVER DEFENCE MATTERS.

3. LE MONDE 'S GUARDED CONCLUSION THAT THE NEW LEADERSHIP IS 'NATIONALIST AND PRO-WESTERN' DERIVES FROM COLONEL SALEK'S APPARENT BACKGROUND OF PRO-FRENCH SENTIMENTS. LE MONDE SUGGESTS THAT A POSSIBLE MOTIVE FOR THE COUP MAY HAVE BEEN PRESIDENT OULD DADDAH'S DECREASING ABILITY TO HANDLE MAURITANIA'S PRESENT CRISIS.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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### DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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MAURITANIA : COUP D ETAT

THE 10 JULY COUP D ETAT IN MAURITANIA IN WHICH PRESIDENT MOKHTAR OULD DADDAH WAS REPLACED, QUIETLY AND WITHOUT VIOLENCE, BY A MIL ITARY COMMITTEE OF NAT IONAL READJUSTMENT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN UNEXPECTED. BUT IN VIEW OF THE INCREASING STRAIN POLISARIO 'S GUERILLA WAR HAS IMPOSED ON MAURITANIA DURING THE PAST YEAR IT IS NOT AN ALTOGETHER SUR PRISING DEVELOPMENT. INTEREST NOW CENTRES ON WHAT THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT MAY PORTEND FOR MAUTIRANIA 'S RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO (AND FRANCE) ON THE ONE HAND AND ALGERIA ON THE OTHER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE .

- 2. THE COUP IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN LED BY THE CHIEF OF THE MAUR ITANIAN ARMED FOR CES, MUSTAPHA MOHAMMED OULD SALEK, SUPPORTED BY THE CHIEF OF POLICE. THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS CONDEMNED THE FOR MER REGIME AS CORR UPT AND ANT I - NAT IO NAL AND HAS SUSPENDED THE CONSTITUTION, PARLIAMENT AND ALL POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS UNTIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.
- 3. THE ALGERIAN MEDIA HAVE REPORTED THE SE DEVELOPMENTS WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL OFFICIAL COMMENT. HOWEVER, EL MOUDJAHID (UNDERLINE TWO) OF 11 JUNE PUBLISHES THE MANIFESTO OF A MAURITANIAN PATRIOTIC GROUP WHICH TAKES THE OPPORTUNITY TO ADVOCATE THAT MAURITANIA RID ITSELF OF THE BURDEN OF WAR OVER THE WESTERN SAHARA BY BREAKING TIES WITH MOROCCO (AND FRANCE) AND NEGOTIATING DIRECTLY WITH THE POLISARIO.
- 4. ALTHOUGH THERE IS A DISPOSITION TO RESERVE JUDGEMENT AMONG ST DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES HERE , THERE IS AN AUTHOR ITATIVE BODY OF OPINION THAT INTERPRETS THE COUP AS A SWING TO A MORE AGGRESSIVE STANCE AGAINST THE POLISARIO AND THUS TO AN INCREASING MAURITANIAN DEPENDENCE ON MOROCCAN AND FRENCH MILITARY SUPPORT. IF THIS INTERPRETATION IS CORRECT, THE COUP MAY HAVE BEEN MOUNTED IN REACTION TO HINTS OF A SETTLEMENT BETWEEN MAURITANIA AND THE POLISAR IO UNDER LIBYAN AUSPICES THAT FOLLOWED OUSTED PRESIDENT MOKHTAT OULD DADDAH 'S VISIT TO LIBYA IN APRIL .

### DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# INWARD CABLEGRAM

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THE HERALD MELBOURNE

RABAT, Mon., AAP. - Leftist military officers seized power overnight in the desert republic of Mauritania, and arrested President Moktar Ould Daddah.

The bloodless coup could have a major impact on the three-year guerrilla war in the former Spanish Sahara.

The military junta, which called itself the "Committee for National Rehabilitation." suspend-

Rehabilitation." suspended the Constitution and dissolved the 15 man Cabinet, the Parliament and the ruling People's Party.

Diplomats in Rabat, Morocco's capital, said they had received reports indicating the junta was composed of leftist military officers who resented a large French and Moroccan influence over their poor but strategic country.

country.

The diplomats in Rabat,
Morocco's capital, said
Col. Ould Salek, chief of
the general staff of the
Mauritanian Army, would

head the junta set up in the Mauritanian capital, Noukchott.

Noukchott.

A radio communique, monitored in neighboring Morocco, reported the junta as saying Ould Daddah's regime had been toppled to "put an end to the anti-national and anti-popular correction" of his Government.

The statement was tak-

of his Government.

The statement was taken as meaning the junta would be prepared to patch up relations with Algeria, which has been aming and training Polisario Front insurgents in the Mauritanian and Moroccan mineral - rich portions of the Sahara Desert.

An estimated 9000

An estimated 9000

Moroccan troops are fighting alongside 8000 - man Mauritanian Army against the Poli-sario insurgents.

The fighting has been raging for three weeks in the desolate wastes of the western Sahara, which Mauritania and Morocco wauritania and Morocco split between themselves when Spain surrendered the colony to them in 1976.

Mauritania, a former French colony twice as large as Texas, became independent in 1960 and was ruled by Ould Daddah until the coup.
Radio reports said he was arrested while trying to flee the presidential palace.

palace.

THE HERALD MELBOURNE

# new twist in power struggle

From ROLAND PULLEN

PARIS, Mon. — The jigsaw puzzle of the African power struggle has taken a new and threatening shape with the overthrow of President Ould Daddah of Mauritania. Mauritania. Mauritania's northern

Mauritania's northern' neighbors are socialist Algeria (which is backed by the Soviet block, and the erratic Col. Gadaffi of Libya) and Royal Morocco, which is pro-western. The Algerians described the military coup as "highly desirable."

France,

The Moroccans said it was "extremely danger-ous."

935/28/2

which rance, which with Morocco has been help-ing Mauritania with technicians and planes to resist attacks of the Polisario Front libera-tion movement, is watching with disquiet

watching with disquiet but saying nothing officially.
Ould Daddah had been Mauritania's President since 1960, the year his country got independence from France, and for a long time he was a bitter critic of France over its war in Algeria

a bitter critic of France over its war in Algeria and its nuclear tests in the Sahara. Sut Ould Daddah was only too glad to forge new links of friendship with France and Morocco when the Poli-But sario Front became a threat to Mauritania's security.



# REPUBLIC'S LONDON, Mon., AAP.

of Mauritania, whose government has been toppled by a military coup, lies on the northwest coast of Africa.

It covers 1,100,000 square kilometres (420,000 square miles) — an area the size of France and Spain together.

Despite its veet The Islamic republic Mauritania, whose

Despite its vast size, the population of the former French colony is

IN IRON estimated at less than 1,500,000. Most of the people, like the over-thrown President, Ould Daddah, are Moors of Arab or Berber stock.

Its main source of po-tential wealth lies in rich

iron ore deposits which are being exploited by a French-led international international consortium.

THE CHARLES RATING QAN BALLA

12 JUL 1978

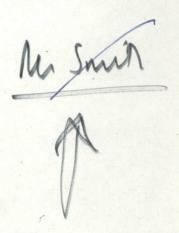
# MAURITIANA Polisario war 'reason for coup'

NOUAKCHOTT, Tuesday (AAP-Reuter). — A government of "national recovery" is in power in the desert republic of Mauritania after a coup which toppled President Moktar Ould Daddah, the country's leader since independence in 1961.

Reports reaching Paris said the new ruler was Army Chief of Staff Colonel Mustapha Ould Salek, 43, a professional soldier whose political tendencies were not immediately known.

Observers say the coup leaders opposed Mr Daddah's handling of Mauritania's two-year-old desert war against Algerian-backed Polisario guerillas.

But State radio gave no indication of the motives behind the coup. It said only that a military committee for national recovery had seized power and would govern until democratic institutions could be established.



# Coup upsets structure of power in Africa

RABAT

THE bloodless coup in Mauritania yesterday led by Colonel Ould Mohammed Salek who seized power from President Moktar Oul Daddah has caused a drastic shift of strength in

north-west Africa.
Colonel Salek. 43, has no known political affiliations, but diplomats believe he is resentful of the large influence held over the poor but strategically valuable country by France and neighboring Morocco, its two financial and military props.

A former pupil of France's famous Cavalry School of Faumur, Colonel Salek was commander of the Mauritanian Army in 1968-69 but lost the position. He recovered it only in March.

The junta announced from Nouakchott, the Mauritanian tapital, that the provisional Cabinet would abide by the country's outstanding commitments and seek "friendly and fraternal relations" with neighboring countries.

The statement was taken to mean the junta would be prepared to patch up relations with Algeria, which has been supporting the bid for independence by insurgents of neighboring Polisario.

· Polisario, a mineral-rich area of Western Sahara which Mauritania and Morocco split between them when Spain surrendered the colony to them in 1976, seeks its own independence.

An estimated 9000 Moroccan troops are fighting alongside the 8000 - man French-equipped Mauritanian Army against the Polisario insurgents.

Polisario insurgents.
The Polisario Information
Minister, Mr Salek, applauded
the coup.

United Press International

# Polisario a problem for new regime

From a Special Correspondent in Paris

MAURITANIA'S President Moktar Ould Daddah, who was overthrown by a military coup on Monday, had been experiencing grave difficulties over the former Spanish Sahara.

Mauritania and Morocco partitioned the former Spanish colony on November 14, 1975.

Since then the already militarily and economically weak Mauritanian Government has been trying to quell in its new territory a rebellion led by the Polisaria Front movement, backed by Algeria.

The Polisario wants independence and unity for the now divided former Spanish territory.

The conflict has taken on the aspect of a real war, particularly since the Polisario attack on the mining town of Zouerat, in the heart of the Mauritanian Desert.

On May 1, 1977, two French technical aid workers were killed and six others taken as hostages.

President Ould Daddah of Mauritania largely blamed Algeria for the war. He accused Algeria of trying "to erase his country from the map" by arming and equipping the guerillas.

In spite of French aid, largely through a Jaguar air fighter striking force, Polisario raids have continued.

The raids have been mainly

WORLDVIEW

against the railway line and have considerably slowed down the country's vital iron ore exports.

Three months ago, the Mauritanian Government announced a new plan aimed at overcoming the problems caused not only by the Polisario conflict but also by drought and by inflation.

The plan, which announced "a wider opening" to foreign investments in the country, led to considerable unrest.

So did President Ould Daddah's plan to introduce the Koranic law in all domains of life.

This plan was widely opposed in Mauritania, particularly among the young.

At the same time, the President dismissed about 20 high officials and launched an anti-corruption campaign.

The political leanings of the Military Committee of National Recovery, which has just taken over, are still not clear. But the coup symbolished the discontent of the opposition.

Its latest anti-Government outburst was a protest published early this month.

The Government had shown itself incapable of continuing the war it had launched, it said.

"Not only have we not been able to establish order in the Sahara but we now also find ourselves under the umbrella of the Jaguars of detestable French colonialism," it claimed.

(AAP-AFP)

THE BULLETIN

Ghana coup

IN THE West African State of Ghana (until 1957 the British Gold Coast Colony), Lieut-Gen Fred Akuffo ousted his fellow officer General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong from power and established himself as head of the ruling National Redemption Council of nine members - seven army officers, the Inspector-General of Police and a civilian Attorney-General.

To

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### DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# **OUTWARD CABLEGRAM**

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RESTRICTED

AUSTRALIAN - AL ŒRIAN RELATIONS

ALGERIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN JAKARTA HAS ADVISED THAT MAOUI ABDEL AZIZ, PERSONAL ENVOY OF PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENE WILL ARRIVE HERE 13 JULY AND IS SEEKING APPOINTMENT WITH PRIME MINISTER, 14 JULY.

- 2. WE UNDERSTAND FROM NEW ZEALANDERS THAT PURPOSE MAY BE TO CANVASS SUPPORT FOR ALGERIAN POSITION ON WESTERN SAHARA. (HE IS ALSO TO VISIT NEW ZEALAND, FIJI AND PAPUA-NEW GUINEA).
- 3. GLAD IF YOU WOULD LET US HAVE URGENTLY BACK GROUND TO VISIT.
  PLEASE SET OUT ALSO CONSIDERATIONS WHICH WE SHOULD NEED TO SUPPORT REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT WITH PRIME MINISTER INCLUDING PROTOCOL ASPECTS AS SEEN BY ALGERIANS.
- 4. ACC ORDING TO JAKARTA, ENVOY WILL VISIT/TRANSIT AUSTRALIA FOUR TIMES AND WILL THEREFORE NEED MULTIPLE ENTRY VISA.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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RESTRICTED

AUSTRALIAN/ALGERIAN RELATIONS

THE ALGERIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRS HERE, BOUKHARI ABDULKADER HAS APPLIED FOR A VISA TO ACCOMPANY MAOUI ABDEL AZIZ, PERSONAL ENVOY OF ALGERIAN PRESIDENT (AND FORMER AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON) TO AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, FIJI AND PNG.

THE PROPOSED ITINERARY IS AS FOLLOWS:

DEPARTING FROM MANILA

13 JULY CAN BERRA

15 JULY SYDNEY

17 JLY FIJI

20 JULY SYDNEY

21 JULY AUCKLAND

23 JLLY SYDNEY

25 JULY PNG

28 JULY SYDNEY-IND ONESIA

3. BOUKHARI SAID MAOUI WAS CARRYING A PERSONAL MESSAGE FOR OUR PRIME MINISTER AND WOULD LIKE TO MEET THE PRIME MINISTER ON 14 JULY. HE WAS UNABLE TO ELABORATE FURTHER. HOWEVER, OUR NEW ZEALAND COLLEAGUE (FROM WHOM BOUKHARI ALSO SOUGHT A VISA) HAS TOLD US THAT THE ALGERIAN DELEGATION WOULD BE CANVASSING SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION ON WEST SAHARA. BOUKHARI HAS ALSO REQUESTED A CALL ON PRIME MINISTER MUL-DOON ON 21 JULY (IN THIS CONTEXT YOU MAY WISH TO SEE OUR MEMO MJA a 534 OF 16 MAY, 1978)

4. WE PRESUME YOU ARE AWARE OF THIS VISIT, AND PROPOSE ISSUING VISA TO BOUKHARI.

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ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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FOREIGN MINISTER
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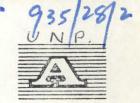
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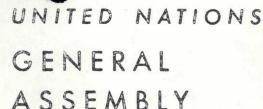
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Distr.
GENERAL

A/32/304 26 October 1977

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-second session Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

# Report of the Secretary-General

1. At its thirty-first session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/45 of 1 December 1976 on the question of Western Sahara. The operative paragraphs of the resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

17

- "1. Reaffirms its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- "2. <u>Takes note</u> of the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity to convene an extraordinary session with a view to finding a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara;
- "3. <u>Decides</u> to postpone consideration of the question of Western Sahara until its thirty-second session;
- "4. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara, and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report on that information to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session."
- 2. Having regard to the provisions of paragraph 4 of the resolution quoted above, the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)
  77-20783

A/32/304 English Page 2



informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations, at a meeting on ll October 1977, that, following its examination of the question of Western Sahara at its fourteenth ordinary Session, held at Libreville from 2 to 5 July 1977, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU had decided to hold a special summit meeting on the question at Lusaka from 5 to 10 October 1977. Subsequently, the Government of Zambia informed the Administrative Secretary-General that it was unable to be host to the meeting at that time. The meeting was therefore postponed.

3. The Administrative Secretary-General of OAU assured the Secretary-General that he would be kept informed of further developments regarding the holding of the meeting within the context of the aforementioned decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU.



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AUSTUNAT, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 212-421-6910 JAN 3 9 79 MM 179

AUSTRALIAN MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS 885 SECOND AVENUE NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

# RESTRICTED

12 December 1977

INWARDS

103/3/4; 351/1; 412/1

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

Algiers Emb. Paris Emb. Madrid Emb. OP1570 OP1571 OP1572 Memo: 2028

906/32/14

UNGA 32 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 24 -

# WESTERN SAHARA

The item on Western Sahara gave rise to the longest debate this year in the Fourth Committee. The Algerian Ambassador to Paris, Ambassador Bedjoaui, who is also the Algerian representative on the International Law Commission, engaged in lengthy legal debates with the Ambassadors of Mauritania and Morocco. The Polisario Front made two equally long interventions in the debate.

- 2. At first it seemed that the item would not be deferred to the OAU, as it had been in 1976. Algeria insisted that the United Nations adopt a position on the Western Sahara and not resort to the device of referring the question to the proposed extraordinary summit of the OAU on the Western Sahara. Algeria was firmly supported in this stand by the Polisario.
- 3. At an early stage in the debate the representative of Gabon, the current Chairman of the OAU, unsuccessfully proposed closure of the debate and later tabled a draft resolution(A/C.4/32/L.12), which referred the question to the OAU extraordinary summit of the OAU. The Gabonese proposal was opposed by Algeria and it soon emerged that Gabon was not acting on the basis of a consensus within the African Group. Indeed its draft resolution was considered partial to Mauritania and Morocco.
- 4. Concurrently, the Chairman of the Fourth Committee (Ambassador Allaf of Syria) had been working on a compromise draft resolution in consultation with Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania. On 8 November he announced that a compromise had been reached and introduced a draft resolution (A/C.4/32/L.20). The Gabonese draft was withdrawn and the Chairman's draft was promptly adopted without a vote. The resolution refers the question to the OAU extraordinary summit but expresses the

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hope that a "just and lasting solution" can be "speedily" achieved at the summit. The resolution also reaffirms the General Assembly's "commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

5. The Polisario Front objected strongly to the compromise but its comments went unheeded.

## Plenary Adoption

- 6. The compromise resolution was adopted by plenary on 25 November, again by consensus.
- 7. A copy of the draft resolution as adopted is attached.

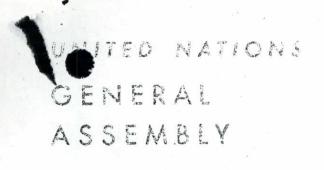
(G.J. Forrester) First Secretary

Documents: A/C.4/32/L.12 A/C.4/32/L.20 A/RES/32/22

Draft resolution of Gabon Compromise draft resolution of the Chairman Resolution adopted

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Distr.

A/C.4/32/L.20 8 November 1977 EMGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-second session FOURTH COMMITTEE Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

# Question of Western Sahara

## Draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Organization of African Unity concerning the Territory,

Taking note of that part of the Political Declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Mon-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, which relates to Western Sahara,

Having heard all the statements made on the subject before the Fourth Committee,

Recalling the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling also its resolution 3412 (XXX) of 28 November 1975 regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

1. Reaffirms its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

- Western Sahara will be speedily achieved in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter at the forthcoming extraordinary summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity devoted to this question to be held shortly in accordance with the decisions taken at the thirteenth and fourteenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity;
- 3. <u>Decides</u> to resume its consideration of the question of Western Sahara at its thirty-third session;
- 4. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to keep developments in this matter under review and to report on the subject to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session;
- 5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara, and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report on the question to the General Assembly as soon as possible and not later than at its thirty-third session.

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WESTERN SAHARA : POLISARIO ATTACKS ON MOROCCAN AND MAURITANIAN FORCES

ACCORDING TO AN RASD (SAHARAN DEMO FIC ARAB REPUBLI)
STATEMENT PUBLISHED IN THE GOVERNMENT DAILY EL MOUDJAHID
DERLINE TWO) TODAY 27 NOVEMBER, POLISARIO FORCES CLAIM TO HAVE
KILLED 188 MORDCCAN AND MAURITANIAN SOLDIERS AND CAPTURED AND
WOUNDED OTHERS IN ATTACKS DURING THE PAST WEEK. THE STATEMENT
DETAILS SEVERA, INCIDENTS.

- 2. ON 22 NOVEMBER, IT IS CLAIMED, AN ATTACK ON AN ORE TRAIN 60 KMS SOUTH OF ZOUERATT IN MAURITANIA RESULTED IN 45 MAURITA-IAN SOLDIERS FILLED, 15 CAPTURED AND MORE THAN 40 OTHERS WOUNDED. IN CIHER ATTACKS ON THREE SEPARATE BARRACKS ALONG THE SAME RAILWAY LINE ON 23 NOVEMBER, IT IS CLAIMED THAT A FURTHER 119 MAURITANIAN SOLDIERS WERE KILLED AND 23 CAPTURED. IN A SEPARATE ATTACK ALSO ON 23 NOVEMBER, ON MOROCCAN FORCES IN THE REGION OF JDIRIA IN THE NORTH OF THE WESTERN SAHARA, IT IS CLAIMED THAT 24 MOROCCAN SOLDIERS WERE KILLED AND A SIMILAR NUMBER WOUNDED.
- 3. IF THESE CLAIMS ARE ACCURATE, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE POLISARIO FROIT HAS THE CAPACITY AND MAY NOW BE DETERMINED TO EXPAND THE WAF TO A SCALE THAT WOULD PLACE MUCH GREATER AND PERHAFS INTOLERABLE, STRAINS ON MAURITANIA. IN PARTICULAR, IT MUST BE QUESTIONED WHETHER IRON ORE MINING AT ZOUERATT, WHICH IS VITAL TO THE MAURITANIAN ECONOMY CAN CONTINUE IN THE FACE OF SUCH INTENSIVE AND APPARENTLY AFFECTIVE ATTACKS ALONG THE EXPORT AND SUPPLY LINE TO THE SEAPORT OF NOUADHIBOU.

# DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0. AE2191

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN + DEP DEFENCE
DEP PM AMD CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO LA FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS(WES)
ASP EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(IOC) IO FAS(PCR) INF
FAS(ECO) FA3(LT) FAS(MFS) FAREP(S-M-P)
BAGHDAD CAIR | CAPETOWN DAMASCUS DAR ES SALAAM JEDDAH LAGOS
LONDON NAIRO3I PRETORIA TEHRAN WASHINGTON

# BLITZFON BLACKS

Six blacks and one policeman were injured when police opened fire on a crowd near Cape Town yesterday.

Violence erupt at Langa, a black South African township, when officials of the Bantu (African) Affairs Administration Board searched the area looking for "troublemakers."

Officials detained several blacks and a crowd of onlookers began stoning the administration vehicle.

Police were called to the scene and before they arrived the crowd swo'led to 1000.

Police opened fire and six blacks were taken to hospital.

A hospital spokesman said none of the wounded was in a serious condition.

In Port Elizabeth's black township of Lingelihle. 720km east of Cape Town, two white policemen were also injured yesterday when they tried to arrest a group of blacks who had attacked a police vehicle.

17 - 23 november 1977 NATION REVIEW 13

## Angola supports Sahara movement

LUANDA: Angola will support "all initiatives" leading to the liberation of Western Sahara, "whose people have been partitioned by the french and moroccan colonialists", president Agostinho Neto said here.

Addressing the nation over Luanda radio on the second independence anniversary, Neto said the moroccan people "has again become the slave of colonialism and now serves as an instrument for preventing the independence of Western Sahara and is even active in other parts of Africa".

"But the Sahara will be free," the angolan president said. On Angola's relations with Zaire, strained during the

angolan civil war when president Mobutu Sese Seko backed the national front (FNLA) faction against Neto's victorious cuban and soviet-aided peoples movement (MPLA), he said all Angola's attempts at normalisation had failed because of the "ill will' of the zairese.

Neto accused Zaire of arming "small bands" for attacks against northern Angola and said he saw signs that there could be a wider aggression to come.

"Enemies on the inside," the FNLA, UNITA and FLEC, would soon be eliminated, the angolan leader said.

17 - 23 november 1977 NATION REVIEW 17

# Smith confirms rhodesian stance

SALISBURY: Rhodesian premier Ian Smith has rejected any plan which would lead to the disbanding of the rhodesian security forces before peace was reestablished throughout the country.

In an interview with the Sunday mail here, Smith denied that he had paid three visits to the zambian president Kenneth Kaunda since their meeting in Lusaka on 25 september.

Commenting on the recent disclosure in London by tory backbencher Julian Amery that the resident commissioner general designate lord Carver wanted to disband many of the white units in the rhodesian forces—with the exception of the air force—Smith said that such a plan was 'just not

on".

The rhodesian premier said he told lord Carver this "in no uncertain terms" during their meeting in Salisbury last week.

A member of the rhodesian

security force quoted in the Rhodesia herald said the disbanding of rhodesian white military units was a "non starter" adding that "this would not be a ceasefire but a total surrender".

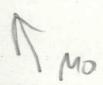
Smith told the Sunday mail that he agreed completely with the view of that spokesman of the rhodesian

The rhodesian prime minister thus confirmed that there was a wide gap in thinking between himself and lord Carver on the future role of security forces in Rhodesia.

The rhodesian premier also agreed with an editorial of the London Daily telegraph which said last week that a plan for disbanding a part of the present security forces in Rhodesia and the creation of six new battalions from "liberation forces" was a "recipe for disaster".

Smith's denial of his alleged three additional visits to president Kaunda came in reply to a comment made in New York by the nationalist leader of the internal ZANU faction, Ndabaningi Sithole.

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POLISARIO KIDNAPPINGS OF FRENCH CITIZENS

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN FRENCH EMISSARY CHAYOT AND POLISARIO REPRESENTATIVES WERE ADJOURNED SINE DIE (UNDERLINE ONE) ON 19

NOVEMBER. THE RED CROSS HAS BEEN ASKED TO TAKE OVER THE MATTER.

2. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ISSUED A STATEMENT ON 20 NOVEMBER CLAIMING THAT THE POLISARIO FRONT HAD SOUGHT AN EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS EVEN THOUGH THE FRENCH CITIZENS WERE CIVILIANS. IT HAD THEREFORE BEEN DECIDED, IN KEEPING WITH FRANCE'S PURELY HUMANITARIAN INTERESTS IN THE MATTER, TO INFORM THE RED CROSS OF THE SITUATION. PRIME MINISTER BARRE CONFIRMED IN AN INTERVIEW THAT FRANCE HAD NO INTENTION OF LETTING ITSELF BE DRAGGED INTO A POLITICAL DEBATE WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET
DEP ATTORNEY GENERAL
JIO
ONA
DEP DEFENCE

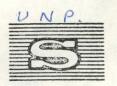
### DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0. PA38704

ACTION: AME EUR

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO PRO FAS(WES) FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(IOC) IO FAS(PCR) INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) GLT IL FAS(MFS) TEC FAREP(S-M-P)



# UNTED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/12445 11 November 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 10 NOVEMBER 1977 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF MAURITANIA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, in his letter to you dated 9 November 1977 (S/12442/Rev.1), has once again resorted to verbal contrivance in order to give a law-abiding appearance to the repeated acts of aggression by the Algerian Government against the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the Kingdom of Morocco, against their sovereignty and their territorial integrity.

The arguments advanced by the Algerian Minister in his above-mentioned letter can deceive no one, because they will not bear serious and objective analysis. The resistance of the "Saharan people" to which reference is made is simply the manifestation of that policy of aggression and intimidation which the Algerian Government has constantly practised towards our countries, in defiance of all norms of international law and of international morality. The taking hostage of innocent civilians and the systematic intent to destroy Mauritania's economic potential are proof, if proof were needed, of the kind of morality which the Algerian leaders are trying to impose on the countries of the subregion, and indeed on the international community as a whole.

The Algerian Minister also states in his letter that in this matter his country has acted entirely in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Charters of the United Nations and OAU. Need I recall that the principles in question require all States Members of those two international organizations to refrain in their relations from the threat or use of force?

The colonization of the Sahara did not end until 1976. Thus, Algeria had plenty of time - 13 years - to show the former colonial Power that supposed moral integrity and that supposed respect for the principles of the Charter of which it now claims to be the fervent defender. Yet, throughout those 13 years of foreign colonization of Western Sahara, next door to an Algeria which proclaims its militancy and asserts that it is motivated solely by respect for the principles of the United Nations and OAU Charters, the former colonial Power was never given any cause for concern from Algerian national territory; quite the contrary. The Algerian leaders throughout that period were quite accommodating towards the former colonial Power and were obviously in collusion with it. Any attempts by military means to loosen the grip of the colonizer so as to accelerate the process of decolonization met with systematic opposition from the Algerian Government. It is true that it was fully in the interest of the Algerian Government, eager to

exploit the Graret-Jbeilatt and Colomb-Béchard mining complexes, to defer to the former colonial Power in order to make such exploitation possible and profitable. That is why not a shot was fired at the former colonial Power from Algerian national territory, despite the principles now being loudly proclaimed, the great value and importance of which the Algerian leaders apparently grasped only when it came to aggression against and intimidation of two neighbouring Arab and African sister countries.

Furthermore, the proclamation of a self-styled Saharan Republic in Algerian national territory and the recognition of that Republic by the Algerian Government are in themselves an outright negation of the principles of the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity - principles which, Algeria now discovers, require it to undertake a new mission, and a dubious one, to say the least. In setting up this Republic, the Algerian Government is trying to establish in Western Sahara a State based on tribalism. This is simply an attempt to create another Transkei in the north-western part of Africa.

Again, the claim that the use of a team of French technicians in Mauritania is an obstacle to the establishment of relations of friendship and trust among all the peoples of the region is too simplistic to warrant attention inasmuch as the situation of tension and deliberate aggression, created and maintained by the Algerian Government, is not of recent date. Thus, the employment of these very few technicians, which was decided on hardly more than a few days ago, cannot be an obstacle to the establishment of such relations of trust and friendship. The obstacle does exist, but it has existed for two years, and the Algerian Government is entirely responsible for it.

This fallacious pretext cannot conceal a reality to which we in Mauritania have, over the past two years, repeatedly drawn the attention of the Security Council. That reality is the deliberate aggression, within the meaning of General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) annex, article 3 (g), which the Algerian Government has been practising for the past two years against Mauritania and Morocco, using for that purpose its regular army and mercenaries of various nationalities. To this violation of fundamental rules of international law is now added a practice that is contrary to all principles of humanitarian law: massacres of civilians, destruction of their property and taking of hostages.

The international community cannot remain indifferent to the Algerian Government's attitude of contempt for the Charter and for those principles and objectives which are the essence and the backbone of the United Nations.

Mauritania, for its part, wishes to draw the attention of the Security Council to the gravity of this situation, for which the Algerian Government alone is responsible and the consequences of which are to be borne by it alone.

I would request you to circulate this letter as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Hamdi OULD MOUKNASS

Minister for Foreign Affairs



# UNPED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/12442/Rev.1 10 November 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1977 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF ALGERIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a letter addressed to you by H.E. Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Member of the Revolutionary Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

On instructions from my Government, I would request you to have this letter circulated as a Security Council document.

(<u>Signed</u>) Fatih BOUAYAD-AGHA
Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.
Permanent Mission of Algeria
to the United Nations

### Annex

### Letter dated 9 November 1977 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria addressed to the President of the Security Council

Recent developments in connexion with Western Sahara cause my Government concern commensurate with the aggravation of tension in the region, and seem to me to require your full attention.

Because of the failure to find, in accordance with the principle of self-determination of peoples, a just and lasting solution under the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and other international agencies, the problem of Western Sahara continues to provoke armed clashes between the Saharan people and the occupation forces of Morocco and Mauritania.

The conflict thus created in the Maghreb, a region in which there is every reason for fraternal co-operation and unity to prevail among all its peoples, has become increasingly serious because of the refusal of the Governments of Morocco and Mauritania to respect the decisions of international agencies and to accept the peaceful settlement of this decolonization question.

The resistance of the Saharan people is now on such a scale, and they have received such a hearing and gained such sympathy and solidarity throughout the world, that no one can any longer deny the nature of the fight they are waging under the leadership of the Polisario Front or be unaware of their resolve to recover their freedom and dignity.

In the case of the question of Western Sahara as in all other decolonization questions, Algeria has consistently acted with respect for the fundamental principles of the Charters and resolutions of the United Nations and OAU. To that end, it has constantly called for a peaceful settlement under the auspices of the agencies already seized of the question, with a view to preserving our region from any outside interference and ensuring its prospects of fruitful co-operation.

The latest developments with regard to the question of Western Sahara confirm - if any confirmation is needed - the interventionist intentions of former colonial Powers in the region. No effort is spared to encourage aggression from within Africa itself against the Saharan people and to create conditions for open military intervention designed, like the support already given to the occupation of Western Sahara, to infringe the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

Using as a pretext a situation of the kind which any armed confrontation inevitably produces, the French Government, while officially assuming an attitude of neutrality, is no longer concealing its bias and its involvement on the side of the aggressor States. Its belligerent declarations and the massive aid given to the Moroccan and Mauritanian armed forces in their endeavour to exterminate the Saharan people are evidence of a clear intent to fan the flames of conflict and to encourage escalation. Such a policy has just been illustrated in the statement of the King of Morocco, who, denying the existence of the Saharan people and of the

S/12442/Rev.1 English Annex Page 2

Polisario Front, tries to place on Algeria the responsibility for the state of war prevailing in Western Sahara, proclaims that the Moroccan army "will no longer hesitate to violate Algeria's borders" and invokes "a right of hot pursuit", of sinister memory for all the peoples of the Maghreb.

Algeria, which has always striven for the establishment of relations of trusting friendship and fruitful co-operation with all its neighbours and its Mediterranean partners, can only deplore the obstacles now being raised by the Government of France to that objective, to which all the peoples of the region aspire, and has warned the Moroccan authorities against any attempt at infringing its sovereignty and its territorial integrity.

In bringing these facts to your notice, my Government wishes once again to draw the attention of the international community to the serious developments relating to the problem of Western Sahara and to the threats to our region represented by deployments of French troops and the declared intention of Morocco to take military action against Algeria. The United Nations, which is still seized of the question, cannot remain indifferent to developments that seriously threaten security, stability and peace in this region, which the Security Council is pledged to maintain.

(Signed) Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

Member of the Revolutionary Council

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UNPED NATIONS
SECURITY

COUNCIL





Distr. GENERAL

S/12442/Rev.1 10 November 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

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The state of the s

(Signed) Fatih BOUAYAD-AGHA

Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.
Permanent Mission of Algeria
to the United Nations

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S/12442/Rev.1 English Annex Page 2

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(<u>Signed</u>) Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

Member of the Revolutionary Council

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### UNTED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr. GENERAL

A/32/335 10 November 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-second session

Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING
OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Letter dated 10 November 1977 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

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On instructions from my Government, I would request you to have this letter circulated as a General Assembly document under agenda item 24.

(Signed) Fatih BOUAYAD-AGHA

Deputy Permanent Representative,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the
Permanent Mission of Algeria
to the United Nations

### ANNEX

Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria addressed to the Secretary-General concerning the question of Western Sahara

The problem of the decolonization of Western Sahara has undergone many twists and turns which have given Algeria repeated occasion to keep you regularly informed, both through our discussions and in our exchanges of correspondence.

It was inevitable that this problem, in view of the fundamentally flawed approach that was taken to it, would have ramifications both for the countries which, to the detriment of all international legality, took the grave decision to divide the Territory between themselves and for Algeria, which legitimately supports the struggle of the Saharan people.

Any foreign aggression was bound to meet with just resistance on the part of the Saharan people. The peoples of the Maghreb, having only yesterday shared the experience of the same colonizer, are surely in a position to know this. All of them should be aware of the danger of deviating from the principles of the United Nations Charter and ignoring the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, especially since, as members of the Arab-African world, they suffer here and there from the same policies pursued by other occupying forces now unanimously condemned by the international community.

The latest developments clearly show that the Saharan people are more determined than ever to defend their inalienable right to self-determination, that Algeria adheres more than ever to the principle of the inviolability of State frontiers as they existed at the time of accession to independence and that, in contrast, the champions of expansionism and of the concept of movable frontiers are persisting in the policy of fait accompli and denial of the right of self-determination of peoples.

Even worse, the most authoritative voice of Morocco, echoing statements and demonstrations inspired from across the Mediterranean, has just declared that the royal armed forces "will no longer hesitate to violate Algeria's borders", thus invoking a supposed right of hot pursuit, the significance of which is as dolefully familiar to the peoples of the Maghreb as to those of the Middle East and the rest of Africa.

Unlike other parties, Algeria has always stated that it is entirely at your disposal to make its modest contribution in the search for a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara, which is so correctly considered in terms of decolonization in both international and regional agencies and according to the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

Needless to say, the only effect of attempts at intimidation and of the threats uttered by various parties has been to heighten the determination of the Algerian people to pay any price in order to safeguard its sovereignty and the inviolability of its frontiers.

A/32/335 English Annex Page 2

If this were merely a matter of French nationals missing in combat areas and said by the French Government to be in the hands of the Polisario Front, Algeria has always indicated that it is fully available to facilitate direct contact between the parties concerned.

Unless it cherishes other designs, the French Government knows, because it has already used them with success, that the most adequate ways and means exist for the settlement of a human problem which rightly causes it concern.

However, the French Government, using as a pretext a situation of the kind which any armed confrontation inevitably produces, while officially assuming an attitude of neutrality, is no longer concealing its bias and its involvement on the side of the aggressor States. Its belligerent declarations and the aid given to the Moroccan and Mauritanian armed forces in their endeavour to exterminate the Saharan people are evidence of a clear intent to fan the flames of conflict and to encourage escalation. Such a policy has just been illustrated in the statement of the King of Morocco, who, denying the existence of the Saharan people and of the Polisario Front, tries to place on Algeria the responsibility for the state of war prevailing in Western Sahara.

All the above facts compel me once again, through you, to call the attention of the entire international community to the consequences and ramifications of this policy.

I am quite sure that, armed with the powers conferred on you by the provisions of the United Nations Charter and with the mandate given to you by the relevant texts on the subject, you will spare no effort to enable all the peoples of the region, including the Saharan people, to settle their problems peacefully and thus return to the natural course of fraternity, co-operation and union.

(Signed) Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

Member of the Revolutionary Council

of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

Unlike other parties, Algeria has always stated that it is entirely at your disposal to make its modern contribution in the search for a just and lasting solution to the problem of Mestern Sahara, which is so correctly considered in terms of decolonization in both intermational and regional agencies and according to the Churter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

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Needless to say, the only effect of attempts at intimidation and of the threats uttered by various parties has been to heighten the determination of the Algerian recols to pay any price in order to unfernard its severeignty and the inviolability of its frontiers.







Distr.
GEWERAL

S/12442 9 November 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 9 MOVEMBER 1977 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF ALGERIA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Recent developments in connexion with Western Sahara cause my Government concern commensurate with the aggravation of tension in the region, and seem to me to require your full attention.

Because of the failure to find, in accordance with the principle of self-determination of peoples, a just and lasting solution under the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and other international agencies, the problem of Western Sahara continues to provoke armed clashes between the Saharan people and the occupation forces of Morocco and Mauritania.

The conflict thus created in the Maghreb, a region in which there is every reason for fraternal co-operation and unity to prevail among all its peoples, has become increasingly serious because of the refusal of the Governments of Morocco and Mauritania to respect the decisions of international agencies and to accept the peaceful settlement of this decolonization question.

The resistance of the Saharan people is now on such a scale, and they have received such a hearing and gained such sympathy and solidarity throughout the world, that no one can any longer deny the nature of the fight they are waging under the leadership of the Polisario Front or be unaware of their resolve to recover their freedom and dignity.

In the case of the question of Western Sahara as in all other decolonization questions, Algeria has consistently acted with respect for the fundamental principles of the Charters and resolutions of the United Nations and OAU. To that end, it has constantly called for a peaceful settlement under the auspices of the agencies already seized of the question, with a view to preserving our region from any outside interference and ensuring its prospects of fruitful co-operation.

The latest developments with regard to the question of Western Sahara confirm - if any confirmation is needed - the interventionist intentions of former colonial Powers in the region. No effort is spared to encourage aggression from within Africa itself against the Saharan people and to create conditions for open military intervention designed, like the support already given to the occupation of Western Sahara, to infringe the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

Using as a pretext a situation of the kind which any armed confrontation inevitably produces, the French Government, while officially assuming an attitude of neutrality, is no longer concealing its bias and its involvement on the side of the aggressor States. Its belligerent declarations and the massive aid given to the Moroccan and Mauritanian armed forces in their endeavour to exterminate the Saharan people are evidence of a clear intent to fan the flames of conflict and to encourage escalation. Such a policy has just been illustrated in the statement of the King of Morocco, who, denying the existence of the Saharan people and of the Polisario Front, tries to place on Algeria the responsibility for the state of war prevailing in Western Sahara, proclaims that the Moroccan army "will no longer hesitate to violate Algeria's borders" and invokes "a right of hot pursuit", of sinister memory for all the peoples of the Maghreb.

Algeria, which has always striven for the establishment of relations of trusting friendship and fruitful co-operation with all its neighbours and its Mediterranean partners, can only deplore the obstacles now being raised by the Government of France to that objective, to which all the peoples of the region aspire, and has warned the Moroccan authorities against any attempt at infringing its sovereignty and its territorial integrity.

In bringing these facts to your notice, my Government wishes once again to draw the attention of the international community to the serious developments relating to the problem of Western Sahara and to the threats to our region represented by deployments of French troops and the declared intention of Morocco to take military action against Algeria. The United Nations, which is still seized of the question, cannot remain indifferent to developments that seriously threaten security, stability and peace in this region, which the Security Council is pledged to maintain.

On instructions from my Government, I would request you to have this letter circulated as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

Member of the Revolutionary Council



UN SED NATIONS

### GENERAL



Distr. LIMITED

A/C.4/32/L.20 8 November 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH MO

Thirty-second session FOURTH COMMITTEE Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

### Question of Western Sahara

### Draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Organization of African Unity concerning the Territory,

Taking note of that part of the Political Declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, which relates to Western Sahara,

Having heard all the statements made on the subject before the Fourth Committee,

Recalling the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling also its resolution 3412 (XXX) of 28 November 1975 regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

1. Reaffirms its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

77-22661

- 2. Expresses the hope that a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara will be speedily achieved in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter at the forthcoming extraordinary summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity devoted to this question to be held shortly in accordance with the decisions taken at the thirteenth and fourteenth ordinary sessions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity;
- 3. <u>Decides</u> to resume its consideration of the question of Western Sahara at its thirty-third session;
- 4. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to keep developments in this matter under review and to report on the subject to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session;
- 5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara, and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report on the question to the General Assembly as soon as possible and not later than at its thirty-third session.

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### UNTED NATIONS

### GENERAL



Distr. LIMITED

A/C.4/32/L.12 7 November 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-second session FOURTH COMMITTEE Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Gabon: draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the relevant provisions of Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations, which provide in particular for resort to regional agencies in the search for a peaceful settlement to disputes between States,

Recalling the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fourteenth regular session, held at Libreville from 2 to 5 July 1977, confirming the decision taken at its thirteenth regular session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to this question,

Recalling its resolution 31/45 of 1 December 1976 in which it took note of the decision to convene an extraordinary summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity devoted to consideration of this question,

- 1. Decides to refer consideration of this question, in accordance with Article 33 of the Charter, to the extraordinary summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity convened for this purpose;
- 2. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara, and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report on that information to the General Assembly.

O.PA38509 KJB1/AEW TOR 0956 17.11.77

0.PA38509 1600 16.11.77 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/1985

RP. RR ALGIERS/313 NEW YORK UN/467

FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7

CONFIDENTIAL

WESTERN SAHARA

CERLES (DIRECTOR OF NORTH AFRICA/LEVANT, MFA) SAID ON 15 NOVEMBER THAT THE CURRENT TENSION IN MOROCCAN-ALGERIAN RELATIONS WAS DISQUIETING, BUT THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT ANY IMMEDIATE WIDENING OF THE CONFLICT. KING HASSAN WAS BASICALLY OPPOSED TO HOT PURSUIT OPERATIONS INTO ALGERIA AND HAD RESISTED ARMY PRESSURES IN THAT DIRECTION. HE HAD NOW MADE A GESTURE TO THE COMMANDERS CONCERNED BUT WOULD STILL BE ANXIOUS TO AVOID DEEPER INVOLVEMENT. MOREOVER, DESPITE ARMY DISSATISFACTION, THE MOROCCANS WERE STILL IN EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF MOST OF THEIR PART OF THE SAHARA. MAURITANIA WAS THE WEAK POINT ON WHICH THE POLISARIO WERE CONCENTRATING, LAUNCHING RAIDS SOUTHWARDS FROM TINDOUF AND USING ARMS CACHES INSIDE MAURITANIAN SAHARA.

- 2. REFERRING TO RECENT ATTEMPTS BY THE EGYPTIANS AND OTHERS TO BRING THE MOROCCANS AND ALGERIANS CLOSER TOGETHER, CERLES SAID THAT THE SAUDIS WERE THE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE. IT WAS MOST UNLIKELY THAT ANY SETTLEMENT COULD BE BROUGHT ABOUT AT PRESENT BUT THEIR ACTIVITIES AT LEAST HAD A USEFUL RESTRAINING EFFECT.
- 3. CONCERNING THE ISSUE OF FRENCH HOSTAGES AND FRANCO-ALGERIAN RELATIONS, CERLES SAID THAT WHEREAS THE FRENCH DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THE FIVE YOUNG PEOPLE KIDNAPPED IN 1976 WERE STILL ALIVE, THERE WAS STILL SOME HOPE FOR RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES TAKEN AT ZOUERATE. (BOUMEDIENNE HAS PUBLICLY STATED THAT HE SENT A MESSAGE TO GISCARD, THROUGH TITO, ADVISING THAT THE FRENCH CITIZENS KIDNAPPED ON 1 MAY WERE ALIVE AND WELL) THE POLISARIO WERE BLOWING HOT AND COLD ON THE QUESTION AND WERE CLEARLY TRYING TO EXTRACT THE MAXIMUM PROPOGANDA VALUE FROM CHAYET'S TALKS WITH THEM IN ALGIERS. THE ALGERIANS FOR THEIR PART WERE ALSO TRYING TO EXPLOIT THE ISSUE TO HELP THE PCF AND PSF WHOM THEY WANTED TO WIN THE MARCH ELECTIONS. CERLES SAID THAT FRANCO-ALGERIAN RELATIONS AT PRESENT WERE UNDER STRAIN BUT HE TRIED TO PLAY DOWN THE IMPORTANCE OF RECENT PUBLIC ATTACKS ON FRENCH POLICY BY BOUMEDIENNE. HE WOULD NOT BE DRAWN ON THE QUESTION OF FRENCH MILITARY SUPPORT FOR MAURITANIA OR INCREASED FRENCH MILITARY PROTECTION FOR FRENCH NATIO-NALS THERE. CERLES DID SAY THAT THE PROPOSED APPOINTMENT OF THE PRE-

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### INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0. PA38509

SENT FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN RABAT TO SUCCEED HIM AT THE MINISTRY MIGHT NOW BE REVIEWED IN ORDER TO REDUCE FRENCH VULNERABILITY TO ALGERIAN CHARGES OF PARTISANSHIP.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER FOREIGN AMINISTER MIN+DEP DEFENCE DEP P M AND CABINET ONA JIO

ACTION: AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO LA FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS(WES) ASP EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC FAS(NUC) FAS(IOC) IO FAS(PCR) INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) FAS(MFS) FAREP(S-M-P) ALGIERS BAGHDAD BEIRUT CAIRO DAMASCUS JEDDAH LONDON MADRID MOSCOW TEHRAN TEL AVIV WASHINGTON

O. MA3344 MA6/MAC TOR 0914 17.11.77

0. MA3344 1500 16.11.77 CLA

TO. RR CAN BERRA/3358

RP。
RR PARIS/125 NEW YORK UN/54
BB ALGIERS/16

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RESTRICTED

SAHARA: KIDNAPPING OF SPANISH FISHERMEN

THERE IS STILL CONFUSION SURROUNDING THE KIDNAPPING ON 14 NOVEMBER OF THREE SPANISH FISHERMEN, 18 MILES OFF THE WESTERN SAHAURA COAST. ALTHOUGH THE IDENTITY OF THE KIDNAPPERS HAS NOT BEEN CONFIRMED IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT THE FPOLISARIO FRONT IS RESPONSIBLE. SOME MADRID NEWSPAPERS CARRY REPORTS OF DENIALS BY POLISARIO SPOKESMEN, WHILE ACCORDING TO OTHERS, POLISARIO SPOKESMEN IN ALGIERS HAVE DESCRIBED THEIR INVOLVEMENT AS "PROBABLE". POSSIBLE COMPLICITY OF THE CANARY ISLANDS SEPARATIST GROUP (MPAIAC) HAS NOT BENN COMPLETELY DISCOUNTED BY SPANISH COMMENTATORS.

- 2. THE SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTRY IS MAINTAINING HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS WITH ALGERIA, MAURITANIA AND MOROCCO TO ASCERTAIN THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE THREE MEN AND TO SECURE THEIR RELEASE. THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS HAS EXPRESSED SPAIN'S "GRAVE CONCERN" TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL.
- 3. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE KIDNAPPING WAS DESIGNED TO DISRUPT THE OPERATION OF THE FISHING AGREEMENT RECENTLY SIGNED BY SPAIN AND MAURITANIA, AS WELL AS TO MARK THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE MADRID AGREEMENT WHICH EFFECTIVELY DIVIDED THE FORMER SPANISH TERRITORY BETWEEN MOROCOO AND MAURITANIA. IT COULD ALSO BE AN ATTEMPT TO DRAW SPAIN BACK INTO THE SAHARA SITUATION, THEREBY WIDENING THE DISPUTE. THUS THERE MAY BE SOME LINK WITH THE POLISARIO'S CONTINUED HOLDING OF FRENCH HOSTAGES.
- 4. SPAIN HAS SENT A GUNBOAT TO PROTECT THE REST OF HER LEET FISHING IN SAHARANWATERS.

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### INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0. MA3344

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: EUR

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO STE LA FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA)
FAS(WES) ASP EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC HOCI FAS(IOC) IO
FAS(PCR) INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) FAS(MFS) FAREP(S M P)

920/15

### INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.UN9 694 BA11/ORA TOR 1312 11.11.77

0.UN9694 2025 10.11.77 CLA

TO. RR CANBERRA/9533

RP.
BB ALGIERS/ 18 PARIS EMB/37

FM. NEW YORK UN / FILE 103/3/3 35 1/1

RESTRICTED

UNGA 32: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 24 - WESTERN SAHARA

THE QUESTION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA WAS THE MOST CONTENTIOUS ITEM DISCUSSED IN THE GENERAL DEBATE ON ITEM 24, WITH THE PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED ATTACKING EACH OTHER IN LONG AND STRONGLY WORDED STATEMENTS. NEVERTHELESS, THE CHAIRMAN WAS ABLE TO NEGOTIATE A DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH WAS ACCEPTED BY ALGERIA, MAURITANIA AND MOROCCO. THE CHAIRMAN'S DRAFT RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED WITHOUT OBJECTION 9 NOVEMBER.

- 2. GABON HAD EARLIER TABLED A LESS EXTENSIVE DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH, AS DID THE COMPROMISE TEXT, SOUGHT TO REFER THE MATTER TO THE PROPOSED OAU SUMMIT ON THE WESTERN SAHARA. THE GABONESE DRAFT HOWEVER WAS CONSIDERED PARTIAL TO MAURITANIA AND MOROCCO AND IT WAS WITHDRAWN IN FAVOUR OF THE CHAIRMAN'S DRAFT RESOLUTION.
- 3. TEXT OF RESOLUTION FOLLOWS BY BAG.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

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ACTION: 10

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO LA FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS(WES) ASP AME FAS(DEF) DP DC HOCI FAS(IOC) FAS(PCR) INF FAS(ECO) FAS(LT) FAS(MFS) FAREP(S M P)

O. UN9669 LAT3/TG TOR 0828 11.11.77

0.UN9669 1430 10.11.77 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/9514

RP.
RR PARIS EMB/387 LONDON/966
BB ALGIERS/17

FM. NEW YORK UN / REF 0.PA38250

CONFIDENTIAL

WESTERN SAHARA

FROM PIPER

EVEN LOOKING AT DEVELOPMENTS FROM NEW YORK IT IS NOT HARD TO SEE WHY HASSAN HAS NOW GIVEN AUTHORITY TO HIS FORCES TO HAVE RECOURSE TO "HOT PURSUIT". THE DANGER IS THAT LOCAL COMMANDERS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO NAIL DOWN POLISARIO UNITS WHICH ARE OPERATING FROM BASES WITHIN OCCUPIED SAHARA, ALTHOUGH CERTAINLY WITH STRONG ALGERIAN LOGISTIC SUPPORT. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES MOROCCANS WILL BE TEMPTED TO MAKE RETALIATORY RAIDS ON CONCENTRATIONS OF NON-COMBATANT SHARAN REFUGEES NEAR TINDOUF OR ON ALGERIAN SUPPLY LINES INVOKING HOT PURSUIT.

2. HAVING TAKEN THIS NEW STEP IT SEEMS TO ME HASSAN SHOULD BE PUT UNDER GREATER INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE TO ARRANGE GENUINE POPULAR CONSULTATION WITH UN SUPERVISION WHICH WOULD EITHER PROVIDE JUST IF ICATION FOR HIS ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY OR OBLIGED HIM TO NEGOTIATE OTHER DISPOSITIONS. I FIND IT DIFFICULT MYSELF TO ACCEPT THAT POLISARIO UNITS COULD OPERATE THE WAY THE WAY THEY DO WITHOUT STRONG SUPPORT FROM LOCAL POPULATION.

3. WHILE RISK OF MAJOR CLASHES HAS NOW RISEN CONSIDERABLY AND IS WORRYING I DO NOT SEE WHAT AUSTRALIAN REPRESENTATIVES CAN USEFULLY SAY TO EITHER SIDE.

ACTION: DEP FORE IGN AFFA IRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

TALLAD LANGO

2 - 0. UN 9 669

ACTION: AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO STE LA FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS(WES)
ASP EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC HOCI FAS(IOC) IO FAS(PCR)
INF FAS(ECO) EO FAS(LT) GLT IL FAS(MFS) FAREP(S-M-P)



O.PA38250 NSL2/NAS TOR 0823 9.11.77

0.PA38250 1923 8.11.77 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/1761

RP .
RR ALGIERS/311 NEW YORK UN/460

FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 22 6/3/3

CONFIDENTIAL

MOROCCO: RELATIONS WITH ALGERIA

ON 6 NOVEMBER THE KING OF MOROCCO, HASSANII, GAVE A SPEECH IN WHICH HE SAID THAT IN FUTURE MOROCCO WOULD EXERCISE ITS "RIGHT OF HOT PURSUIT" (""DROIT DE SUITE") EACH TIME ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IS VIOLATED. THE POSSIBILITY OF A DIRECT CONFLICT BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ALGERIA HAS THUS INCREASED.

- 2. THE KING, GIVING HIS SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE SECOND ANNIVERS ARY OF THE "GREEN MARCH" WHICH "LIBER AT ED" THE WESTERN SAHARA, SAID THAT "EACH TIME THE MOROCCAN FRONTIER IS IN FUTURE VIOLATED BY THE "PSEUDO-POLISARIO, "THE MOROCCAN ARMY WILL EXERCISE ITS RIGHT OF HOT PURSUIT, REGARDLESS OF THE CONSEQUENCES" AND THAT IN ANY SUCH SITUATION THE MOROCCAN ARMY "WILL NOT HESITATE TO VIOLATE THE ALGERIAN FRONTIERS" AN ACT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR WHICH WOULD "REST WITH THE ALGERIAN LEADERS ONLY." THE KING APPEALED TO HIS COUNTRYMEN TO BE READY TO DEFEND MOROCCO"S DIGNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY."
- 3. COMMENT: RECOURSE TO THE RIGHT OF HOT PURSUIT WOULD MARK A SERIOUS ESCALATION IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ALGIERS (THE LATTER THROUGH ITS POLISARIO PROXY). MOROCCO "S "TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY" IN THIS CONTEXT MUST BE READ TO INCLUDE THAT PART OF THE WESTERN SAHARA ANNEXED BY MOROCCO. THE DOCTRINE, TAKEN AT ITS WIDEST, WOULD AUTHORISE MOROCCO TO STRIKE AGAINST THE POLISARIO BASES NEAR TINDOUF IN ALGERIA, A MOVE WHICH SOME ELEMENTS OF THE MOROCCAN ARMY HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN ACTIVELY ADVOCATING IN THEIR ADVICE TO THE KING. ACTIVATING THE DOCTRINE OF HOT PURSUIT WOULD ALSO FREE MOROCCO OF ITS TACTICAL WEAKNESS AND MORALE PROBLEM IN DEFENDING FIXED POSITIONS IN A GUERILLA SITUATION.
- 4. OBSERVERS HAVE COMMENTED ON THE TIMING OF THE KING 'S DECLARATION, NOTING THAT IT HAS COME IN A CLIMATE OF ANTI-TERRORIST AND ANTI-KIDN APPING SENTIMENT IN EUROPE AND ALSO WHEN THE FRENCH PUBLIC'S SUPPORT FOR POLISARIO WOULD BE AT ITS LOWEST DUE TO ITS RECENT KIDNAPPINGS OF FRENCH CITIZENS.
- 5. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE RIGHT OF

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### INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0 .PA38250

HOT PURSUIT COULD BE OF LIMITED VALUE IN THE PRESENT MILITARY SITUATION. POLISARIO TACTICS HAVE BEEN TO STRIKE AGAINST MAURITANIA, BY FAR THE WEAKER OF POLISARIO'S TWO ENEMIES. KING HASSAN DID NOT MENTION MAURITANIAN TERRITORY IN HIS SPEECH AND ACCORDINGLY IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT THE SEVERAL BATTALIONS OF THE MOROCCAN ARMY STATIONED IN MAURITANIA WILL RETAIN THEIR STRICTLY DEFENSIVE ROLE. IT MAY ALSO BE THAT MOROCCO'S TOUGH STAND WILL REINFORCE POLISARIO'S DECISION TO DIRECT ITS ATTACKS ON MAURITANIA. NEVERTHELESS, KING HASSAN'S SPEECH REPRESENTS A WARNING TO ALGERIA AS WELL AS THE LEGAL GROUND WORK FOR THE JUSTIFICATION OF A MOROCCAN ATTACK ON THE POLISARIO BASES IN ALGERIA.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO STE LA FAS (SEP) FAS (NSA) FAS (WES)
EUR FAS (DEF) DP DC HOCI FAS (IOC) IO FAS (PCR) INF
FAS (ECO) EO EP FAS (LT) GLT IL FAS (MFS) FAR EP (SMP)
ADAB (DIR) FAS (POP) FAS (TSO)

GANENDEN TANH



## UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/C.4/32/4 5 October 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-second session FOURTH COMMITTEE Agenda item 24



IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

### Request for hearing

Note by the Secretariat: The following communication is distributed to the members of the Fourth Committee in accordance with a decision taken by the Committee at its 3rd meeting, on 5 October 1977.

Telegram dated 22 September 1977 from the Secretary-General, Front populaire pour la libération de Saguiet el-Hamra et du Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO), addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee

Algiers

We have the honour to transmit the best wishes of the Saharan people for the success of the thirty-second session of the United Nations. A victim of colonial aggression, our people base their legitimate expectations on the action to be taken at this session to implement the resolutions of the United Nations on the sacred right of peoples to self-determination. We wish to inform you that a delegation from the Frente POLISARIO will come to New York to participate in the discussions on the decolonization of Western Sahara. We take this opportunity to draw to your attention the gravity of the situation in the Sahara owing to the aggression perpetrated by Morocco and Mauritania against our people since the

A/C.4/32/4 English Page 2

conclusion of the so-called Tripartite Agreement of Madrid. We would also inform you that this aggression constitutes a grave threat to peace and security in this region.

Mohamed ABDELAZIZ

Secretary-General

Front populaire pour la libération

de Saguiet el-Hamra et du Río de Oro

(Frente POLISARIO)

El-Farsia, 21 September 1977

0.PA38173 JBG12/NS TOR 2332 5.11.77

O.PA38173 1030 05.11.77 CLA

TO. RR CANBERRA/1703

RP. RR ALGIERS/309 NEW YORK UN/459 ACCRA/049 RR CAIRO/198

FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7 REF 0.PA38005

RESTRICTED

POLISARIO KID NA PPINGS OF FRENCH CITIZENS

THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE OUR REFTEL CONCERN-ING THE EIGHT (AND POSSIBLE THIRTEEN) FRENCH CITIZENS HELD BY THE POLISARIO FRONT . THESE EVENTS TEND TO CONFIRM THAT THE FRENCH POSIT-ION IS TO EXHAUST DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS BEFORE TAKING RECOURSE TO FORCE

- 2. ON 1 NOVEMBER, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT SENT TWO SENIOR FOREIGN MINE STRY OFFICIALS, CHAYET AND GEORGY, TO ALGIERS AND TRIPOLI (LIBYA) RESPECTIVELY. CHAYET HAS SINCE HAD LONG DISCUSSIONS WITH MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE POLISARIO FRONT, INCLUDING THE " MIN-ISTER FOR INFORMATION " OF THE "SAHARAN ARAB DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC". FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ARE TO BE HELD ACCORDING TO A BRIEF STATEMENT MADE BY CHAYET.
- 3. ON 3 NOVEMBER, THE LIBYAN PRIME MINISTER, JALLOUD, MET WITH PRES-IDENT GISCARD D "ESTAING AT THE FORMER "S REQUEST TO DISCUSS THE POLIS-ARIO KID NAPPINGS. JALL OUD 'S VISIT TO PARIS HAS BEEN DESCRIBED BY THE PRESS AS "STRONGLY RESEMBLING A MEDIATION MISSION" BUT IT HAS BEEN NOTED THAT IN VIEW OF LIBYA 'S STRAINED RELATIONS WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT, AND WITH THE ALGERIAN AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS AS WELL, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE WHAT ROLE LIBYA COULD HAVE IN FINDING A SOLUTION.
- 4. THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES ARE ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE MADE REPRESENT-ATIONS TO THE ALGERIAN RED CRESCENT, THE SAHARAN RED CRESCENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS. IT HAS ALSO BEEN REPORTED, HOWEVER, THAT A PROPOSED VISIT OF AN ICRC REPRESENTATIVE TO ALGIERS HAS BEEN POSTPONED .
- 5. IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT ON 2 NOVEMBER SEVERAL FRENCH AIR FORCE DC8 AND TRANSALL PLANES CARRYING TWO TO THREE HUNDRED MEN REP-ORTEDLY FLEW TO THE FRENCH BASE AT CAP-VERT IN SENEGAL TO REINFORCE THE FRENCH MILITARY PRESENCE THERE. MOST COMMENTATORS HAVE LINKED THIS MOVE TO THE POLISARIO KID NAPPINGS.

2-0. PA38173

ACTION : DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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ACTION : AME

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### 0.PA38005 LRC 2/NAS TOR 1110 1.11.77

### INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.PA38005 1709 31.10.77 CLA

TO. RR CANBERRA/1563

RP . RR ALGIERS/308 NEW YORK UN/454 ACCRA/047 FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7 REF 0.PA37928

CONFIDENTIAL

POLISARIO KIDNAPPINGS OF FRENCH CITIZENS

PRESS AND PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE FATE OF THE FRENCH CITIZENS KIDNAPPED BY THE POLISARIO FRONT REMAINS HIGH. THOUGH THERE HAS BEEN MUCH PRESS SPECULATION ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A FRENCH ARMED INTERVENTION TO FREE THE HOSTAGES, EVENTS OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS SUGGEST THAT BEFORE ANY MILITARY SOLUTION IS ATTEMPTED, FRANCE IS FIRST USING THE DIPLOMATIC MEANS AT ITS DISPOSAL .

PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING REPORTEDLY CHAIRED A MEETING AT THE ELYSEE PALACE ON THE PROBLEM ON 27 OCTOBER . AN UNNAMED MILITARY SOURCE IS QUOTED BY LE MONDE AS HAVING STATED AFTER THIS MEETING THAT "THE LIMITS OF THE INTOLERABLE HAVE BEEN REACHED" ON 28 OCTOBER THE ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE, CURRENTLY IN NEW YORK, REPORTEDLY MADE A STATEMENT IN WHICH HE RECOGNISED THAT THE POLISARIO FRONT HELD "THE FRENCH PRISONERS" (POLISARIO HAS NEVER ADMITTED THIS), ASSURED THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES THAT THE PRISONERS WERE NOT BEING HELD IN ALGERIA AND ARGUED IN FAVOUR OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE POLISARIO FRONT. ON 30 OCTOBER HOEVER, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN ALGIERS DELIVERED A NOTE FROM PRESIDENT DISCARD D'ESTAING TO THE ALGERIAN PRESIDENT WHICH REPORTEDLY POINTED TO THE SERIOUS RISK OF A DETERIORATION IN BILATERAL RELATIONS IF THE HOSTAGES WERE NOT LIBERATED.

3. THE PARIS PRESS HAS GIVEN FULL PLAY TO REPORTS (CLE ARLY GOVERNMENT INSPIRED ) OF MILITARY PREPARATIONS FOR POSSIBLE ACTION. UNITS OF A PARACHUTE DIVISION HAVE BEEN PLACED ON ALERT AND A SERIES OF RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN UNDERT AKEN . CONTINGENCY PLANS HAVE ALSO REPORTEDLY BEEN PREPARED FOR THE FRENCH

ARMED FORCES TO PROTECT FRENCH CITIZENS IN MAURITANIA. OTHER CONT-IGENCY PLANS REPORTEDLY CALL FOR THE EVACUATION OF THE SEVERAL HUNDRED FRENCH CITIZENS IN MAURITANIA. IN OTHER DEVELOPMENTS EIGHT " "MEMBERS OF THE POLISARIO FRONT " WERE EXPELLED FROM FRANCE

OVER THE WEEKEND.

2-0.PA38005

4. THE PRESS HAS ALSO REPORTED THAT THE AMBASSADORS FROM THE USA, USSR, CHINA AND BRITAIN WERE CALLED IN TO THE ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY IN ORDER TO DRAW THEIR ATTENTION TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A FRENCH MILITARY INTERVENTION "WHICH WOULD BE LIKELY TO PUT INTERNATIONAL SECURITY INTO DANGER."

COMMENT (UNDERLINED)

5. THE TOUGH STAND TAKEN BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS PLACED IT IN A DIFFICULT POSITION. IT HAS ENCOURAGED THE PUBLIC TO EXPECT A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME, AND HAS ALSO CREATED A NEED FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO BE SEEN TO BE TAKING ACTIVE MEASURES TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. A MILITARY SOLUTION IS HEAVY WITH RISKS. FAILURE TO FIND AND FREE THE HOSTAGES WOULD BE A SERIOUS EMBARRASSMENT. INTERVENTION ON ALGERIAN SOIL WOULD BE TAKEN VERY ADVERSELY BY ALGIERS AND COULD RUN INTO SERIOUS CRITICISM FROM OTHER AFRICAN STATES.

INTERVENTION IN MAURITANIA COULD ONLY BE UNDERTAKEN WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE MAURITANIAN GOVERNMENT. UNDERTAKING TO PROTECT FRENCH CITIZENS IN THE AREA COULD BECOME A LONG, COSTLY AND DRAWN-OUT AFFAIR WITH NO GUARANTEE THAT IT WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL. ALL THESE FACTORS POINT TO THE NEED FOR A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION BUT IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT THIS IS THE VERY APPROACH THAT HAS BROUGHT NO SUCCESS SINCE THE KIDNAPPINGS IN MAY THIS YEAR.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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JIO

ACTION: AME

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O.PA37928 KG 8/NAS TOR 0648 28.10.77

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TO. RR CANBERRA/1498

RP. RR ALGIERS/305

FM . PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7

CONFIDENTIAL

POLISARIO KIDNAPPINGS OF FRENCH CITIZENS

TWO FRENCH CITIZENS AND A NUMBER OF MAURITANIANS WERE KIDNAPPED BY POLISARIO FORCES IN YET ANOTHER RAID ON THE MAURITANION MINING TOWN OF ZOUERATE ON 25 OCTOBER.

- 2. IN A POLISARIO RAID ON THE SAME TOWN ON 1 MAY, TWO FRENCHMEN WERE KILLED AND SIX KIDNAPPED. AT THE END OF 1975 FIVE FRENCH HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS DISAPPEARED IN THE WESTERN SAHARA AND FRENCH AUTHOR-ITIES HAVE NOT DISMISSED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THEY ALSO ARE BEING HELD BY THE POLISARIO FRONT.
- 3. IN ALL THREE CASES THE POLISARIO FRONT HAS NOT ADMITTED TO THE KIDNAPPINGS AND HAS MADE NO DEMANDS ON FRANCE. AFTER THE MAY INCIDENT THE ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT SUGGESTED THAT THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE POLISARIO FRONT, BUT SUCH A COURSE IS SEEN BY THE FRENCH AS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THEIR SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH MOROCCO. THE SITUATION IS THUS ONE OF STALEMATE, WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT DETERMINED TO HOLD FAST AND THE FRENCH APPARENTLY IMPOTENT TO DO ANYTHING EXCEPT PUT PRESSURE ON AN UNRECEPTIVE ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT IN WHOSE TERRITORY THE HOSTAGES ARE BELIEVED TO BE HELD.
- 4. MEANWHILE THE FRENCH PUBLIC'S CONCERN FOR THE HOSTAGES IS GROW-ING, PUTTING ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES. SOME OF THE FRENCH PRESS HAVE ARGUED FOR A COMMANDO RAID TO FREE THE HOSTAGES BUT EVEN THEY RECOGNISE THAT THERE IS WHAT IS DESCRIBED AS A 'TECHNICAL PROBLEM''- THE FRENCH DON'T KNOW WHERE THE HOSTAGES ARE BEING HELD.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN + DEP DEFENCE
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### UNDED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/12431 31 October 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 31 OCTOBER 1977 FROM THE DEPUTY PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ALGERIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Less than four months after the frivolous and stupefying accusations, the complete lack of foundation of which was pointed out by Algeria, the Permanent Representative of Mauritania to the United Nations once again, on behalf of his Government, in his letter dated 28 October 1977 (S/12430), implicates my country in incidents in which it recently clashed with the freedom fighters of the Frente POLISARIO.

Evidently, the authorities in Nouakchott are resorting to the classic and deceptive procedure of disguising the failure of their annexationist misadventure in Western Sahara by imputing to a third party the military reverses which the Saharan people are inflicting on it in their struggle for freedom and dignity.

This diversionary policy is thus aimed at nothing less than transforming a problem involving a liberation struggle into a dispute with Algeria and is a deliberate attempt to evade the serious consequences resulting from a policy of aggression and occupation.

The gratuitous and irresponsible accusations which the Government of Mauritania has just levelled against my country are merely an obvious illustration of that policy.

The Government of Algeria has repeatedly drawn the attention of the international community to the inevitable consequences of the policy of aggression and occupation of Western Sahara and to the consequent degradation of the situation in the whole region.

My Government remains convinced that the only possible and reasonable way to bring about a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the problem of Western Sahara lies in the implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly relating to the effective exercise by the Saharan people of their inalienable right to self-determination.

I request you to arrange for this letter to be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA
Deputy Permanent Representative,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.,
Permanent Mission of Algeria to
the United Nations

### UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL





S/12430 28 October 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER OF 28 OCTOBER 1977 TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MAURITANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

On the instructions of my Government I have the honour to inform you that on 25 October 1977 a party of 26 innocent civilians responsible for the maintenance and repair of the Mauritanian railway between Nuadhibou and Zuerate, and including two locally recruited French railwaymen, were seized and held hostage at the instigation of the Algerian Government and with the direct participation of the Algerian army. In May 1977 six other innocent French nationals, similarly recruited by the Société Nationale Industrielle et Minière (SNIM) of Mauritania and stationed at Zuerate, and three Mauritanian citizens, were also seized and held hostage and are at present on Algerian territory.

These acts of terrorism are, however, only the most recent of many such acts since 1975, directed from Algerian territory against civilian targets in Mauritania. In other places in Mauritania, mass murders of children, women and old men, the seizure of groups of nomad civilians, the machine-gunning of whole herds which are the sole livelihood of these nomad civil populations, and the destruction of water points whose importance in a desert environment needs no stress, have been deliberately committed by bands of mercenaries in the pay of the Algerian régime.

Such are the terrorist methods, condemned by all the Members of our Organization, which the Algerian leaders have erected into a system of relations between States and which they use as a means of blackmail and intimidation.

By so doing the Algerian Government flouts the authority of the international community at a time when the latter has as one of its chief concerns the protection of civilians in conformity with the elementary principles of humanitarian law and with various relevant international instruments, in particular the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

The Government of Mauritania wishes by this letter to draw once again to the attention of the Security Council the extreme seriousness of these acts of terror. The Government of Mauritania holds the Government of Algeria solely responsible for these terroristic acts and for all the consequences that may flow therefrom.

I request you to circulate this note as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Moulaye EL HASSEN Permanent Representative

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UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr. GENERAL

A/32/303 26 October 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-second session Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Letter dated 21 October 1977 from the Permanent Representative of Madagascar to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a memorandum from the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hambra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on the occasion of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

I should be grateful if you would have this memorandum circulated as a document of the General Assembly under agenda item 24.

(Signed) Blaise RABETAFIKA

### ANNEX

Memorandum dated 5 October 1977 from the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hambra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) addressed to the Chairman of the Special Committee of 24 on the occasion of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations

Once again the General Assembly of the United Nations is considering the decolonization of Western Sahara. Like all the peoples of the world, the Saharan people has the right to self-determination and independence. The United Nations and all international organizations recognize the inalienable rights of our people to freedom and dignity, rights which it has jealously defended for centuries.

The Saharan people has always resisted foreign penetration in order to preserve its independence and sovereignty. The various attempts at penetration have therefore been frustrated.

Thus, the Spanish colonial penetration, which was begun in 1884, remained ineffective until 1935.

This continuing age-old resistance was reaffirmed with the establishment of the Frente POLISARIO, the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people, on 10 May 1973.

On 20 May 1973, the Frente POLISARIO, which is both a liberation front and a movement of the masses, launched its first operation, the historic operation of El Khanga, against the Spanish occupier, thus inaugurating a new era to demand respect for the legitimate and universally recognized rights of our people.

Since that time there has been an increasing number of military operations and the Saharan People's Liberation Army (ALPS) has inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. A considerable amount of war matériel was destroyed and recovered. Several Spanish soldiers and officers were captured. Spain could no longer sustain the heavy losses in the field which the Frente POLISARIO was inflicting on it. Students, workers and unemployed, the entire Saharan people, enlisted in the ranks of the Frente POLISARIO. Faced with this mobilization and determination, Spain resorted to massive and savage massacres. In the towns, repression was unleashed; searches, abductions, imprisonment and executions were common. In the countryside, daily bombardments were aimed at exterminating both the civilian population and livestock. All these barbarous acts only strengthened our people's firm belief in the justice of its cause and its determination to gain respect for its right to live in freedom like all the peoples of the world.

The liberation of most of the territory of our country, the imprisonment of Spanish officers and soldiers, the recovery of significant amounts of war matériel by the Saharan People's Liberation Army, and the failure of an attempt to create a third force compelled the Spanish occupying Power to consider leaving our country, which it found itself increasingly unable to control.

Spain was at that time playing a double game. In the United Nations it claimed to respect and defend the inalienable rights of our people to independence and self-determination and the territorial integrity of our country, which it was administering in conformity with its obligations as administering Power, while, at the same time it was preparing a criminal conspiracy to divide our homeland and its wealth following the failure of its policy aimed at perpetuating direct domination. This colonialist policy was defeated thanks to the struggle of our people and its great sacrifices.

Since its establishment, the United Nations has been given responsibility for decolonization and has adopted a number of declarations, resolutions and measures aimed at the implementation of its Charter, in particular Article 1, paragraph 2, and Chapter XI.

It was in that context that the General Assembly adopted the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and two years later established the Special Committee of 24 (the Committee on Decolonization).

Since that time the process of decolonization carried out by the United Nations has led to the adoption of numerous resolutions dealing with our country.

In that connexion, the adoption of resolution 2229 (XXI) of 1966, which invited the administering Power to determine the procedures for the holding of a referendum under United Nations auspices with a view to enabling our people to exercise freely its right to self-determination and independence, represented the beginning of the decolonization process.

Resolution 2229 (XXI) served as a model for a series of provisions which were identical in substance: resolution 2354 (XXII) of 19 December 1967, resolution 2428 (XXIII) of 18 December 1968, resolution 2591 (XXIV) of 16 December 1969, resolution 2711 (XXV) of 14 December 1970, resolution 2983 (XXVII) of 14 December 1972, and resolution 3162 (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973.

The United Nations has thus reiterated in increasingly urgent terms the need for the complete liberation of our country through the exercise by our people of its right to self-determination and independence without foreign interference.

All its resolutions and others insisting on the implementation of the strict right of peoples to self-determination were adopted with the consent and support not only of Spain but also of Morocco and Mauritania, which are now attacking us.

During the meeting of the Special Committee at Addis Ababa in 1966, for example, Morocco stated through its representative, who had been invited to participate as an observer, that it recognized the right of Western Sahara to independence.

Furthermore, at a subsequent meeting of the Special Committee in New York, the Moroccan representative stated that Morocco had since June 1966 urged that the

indigenous population of the Territory should be allowed to exercise its right to independence and self-determination.

In connexion with the draft resolution submitted by the Special Committee on 17 November 1966, the Moroccan representative stated that his country, like any truly independent African country, felt that the indigenous population should be able to determine freely its own destiny.

Again, during the meeting of the Special Committee at Addis Ababa, the Mauritanian representative, who had also been invited to participate as an observer, said, in reference to the statements made by the representative of Morocco, that his country was in complete agreement with Morocco with regard to the rights of Spanish Sahara to freedom, and that the Territory should be completely independent of Spain, but also of Morocco.

At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, Morocco reiterated that it recognized the right of Western Sahara to free self-determination and independence.

In the Fourth Committee, Morocco affirmed its acceptance of immediate independence for all African Territories still under colonial domination in conformity with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The Moroccan representative stated that Spain was too generous not to withdraw from a Territory which did not belong to it and not to grant independence to its people. Morocco would be the first to applaud any initiative in that direction.

In the same Committee, the Mauritanian representative said that his country was moved by the desire to promote the interests of Spanish Sahara and its inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

In the course of the meetings of the Special Committee held in 1969, the Moroccan representative, Mr. Benhima, stated with regard to Spanish Sahara that the Special Committee had noted at its recent meetings that, for the past three years, the General Assembly had been voting on a resolution the provisions of which had been almost identical each time, and that on each occasion the General Assembly had recalled in greater detail certain basic provisions.

Those provisions were, first, the principle of self-determination, to which Spain had adhered since the second resolution and, second, the decision by the Committee of the General Assembly concerning the dispatch of a visiting mission to the Territory to gather all the necessary information.

At the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the same Moroccan representative, Mr. Benhima, stated that once the Sahara became independent, Morocco would be prepared to respect the freely expressed wishes of the inhabitants of that Territory, and, again, that when the Territory became independent, its

frontiers would be respected in the same way as those of all independent countries and that at that time, Morocco would be prepared to respect the freely expressed wishes of the inhabitants.

Thus, Morocco had undertaken not only to respect the wishes of the Saharan people, but also to respect the territorial integrity of the Sahara, once it became independent just as it respected that of all other independent countries.

Morocco and Mauritania have recognized the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence not only at the level of the United Nations but also at the level of continental and regional organizations.

Spain, for its part, despite its delaying tactics and its savage repression of our people, has always opted for the resolutions and methods advocated by the United Nations.

At the twenty-first session of the General Assembly, the Spanish representative informed the Fourth Committee that Spain had solemnly undertaken to apply the principle of self-determination to the Sahara.

Commenting on draft resolution 2229 in the Fourth Committee, the Spanish representative stated that the aims of the sponsors of the draft resolution coincided with the position of the Spanish Government and that everyone agreed that the principle of self-determination should be applied to the Sahara. Spain would apply that principle but the Saharan people would have the last word.

In 1967, the Spanish Government reaffirmed its position in a statement by its representative in the Special Committee, in which he stressed that respect for the wishes of the inhabitants of the Sahara was the fundamental basis for Spanish policy in that area and reaffirmed that the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination must be applied to that Territory.

At the twenty-sixth session, the Spanish representative in the Fourth Committee stated that, in 1966, Morocco had said that it would abandon its position of a straightforward territorial claim to the Sahara and would instead advocate the principle of self-determination in the United Nations. Spain had welcomed the statement by the three Heads of State issued in September 1970 at Nouadhibou, which had proclaimed that the process advocated by the United Nations would be respected and had rejected the possibility of territorial claims, recognizing the wishes of the population of the Territory as the sole valid criterion for decolonization.

It was in that context and in order to obtain further information on the situation in our country so that rapid steps could be taken to enable our people to exercise its legitimate rights to independence and freedom that the General Assembly sent a visiting mission, which concluded in its report that the Saharan people had opted for independence. According to that report, the mission had noted that the Saharan people, or at least almost all those persons encountered by the mission were categorically in favour of independence and opposed to the

territorial claims of Morocco and Mauritania. In their desire for freedom and sovereignty, our people gave the United Nations mission a very enthusiastic welcome. Throughout the national territory, the pcpular masses demonstrated their desire for independence.

During their stay in our country, the members of the mission saw for themselves that despite the repression and police control exercised by more than 50,000 Spanish soldiers, our people had succeeded in expressing its desire for independence. The massive demonstrations in the towns and the countryside called for the immediate withdrawal of the Spanish occupation forces and for unconditional independence in accordance with the principles and decisions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned movement.

Our people reaffirmed to the United Nations mission its support for its sole legitimate representative, the Frente POLISARIO. The mission was thus able to conclude in its report to the General Assembly that the Frente POLISARIO was the main movement in the country.

According to the mission, the Frente POLISARIO, which had been regarded as an underground movement until the mission arrived, appeared to be the dominant political force in the Territory. Throughout the Territory, the mission witnessed mass demonstrations in its favour.

During their stay in the liberated areas, the members of the United Nations mission were able to meet Spanish officers and soldiers who had been taken prisoner by the Saharan People's Liberation Army (ALPS) in the course of military operations against the Spanish army.

The mission was able to unmask the Spanish strategy, which was aimed at perpetrating the occupation of our country and the exploitation of our wealth by suppressing the national liberation struggle of our people and thereby violating the decisions of the United Nations and other international organizations.

It was for precisely these reasons that the mission recommended in its report, which was adopted by the General Assembly, that the legitimate rights of the Saharan people should be respected, calling on Spain to confine itself to its responsibilities as administering Power.

The highest international legal body has recognized the right of the Saharan people to exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

Thus, in its advisory opinion of 16 October 1975, the International Court of Justice in The Hague, to which the question of the Spanish Sahara had been referred originally by Morocco and Mauritania, refuted the annexationist arguments of those two countries, concluding that the materials and information presented to it did not establish any tie of territorial sovereignty between the Territory of Western Sahara and the Kingdom of Morocco or the Mauritanian entity.

soverfeignty in its own territory.

A/32/303 English Annex Page 6

It thereby made it clear that it had not found any legal ties of such a nature as might affect the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and, in particular, of the principle of self-determination through the free and genuine expression of the will of the peoples of the Territory.

So hollow were the Moroccan and Mauritanian claims that the Court, without even hearing the Saharan point of view, rejected the expansionist arguments, recognized the historical independence of the Sahara, and reiterated forcefully the right of our people to self-determination.

The result was total failure. Rabat and Nouakchott no longer had any hope of trying to make the world believe that their lust for phosphates was based on "historical" rights. It was then that they showed their true colours - those of cynical aggressors openly defying the United Nations, paying no heed to its principles or Charter, or to any decision of the international community.

It was then that - with the evident support of Spain, which was nevertheless internationally recognized as the administering Power - they embarked on their ignoble and criminal aggression against our country and our peace-loving people.

First, on 31 October, under the cover of a so-called peaceful march, which in reality was simply an ill-disguised invasion, the Moroccan army went directly into action. One month later, its accomplice, Mauritania, stabbed us in the back by invading the southern part of our country.

This action also came at a time when our people, under the leadership of its advance guard, the Frente POLISARIO, controlled nine-tenths of our national territory.

This was because, after three years of armed struggle, the Spanish occupation forces had been obliged to fall back gradually on the major centres and principal bases.

This movement increased after the battle of Agjejimatt (near Tifarity) in December 1974, and even more so following the capture of a number of motorized patrols in 1975.

Only the three main towns (El Aiun, Dakhla and Smara) and the Bou-Crâa mines were in the hands of Spain. All the rest, from the extreme north to the extreme south, were under our control including El Mahbès, Tifarity, Amgala, Ain Bentili, El Guelta, Tichla and La Guerra.

There and elsewhere throughout the Territory, committees elected by the inhabitants controlled the administration, organized all public activities and ministered to the needs of the population with the assistance of the Frente.

It was at that precise moment that the forces of invasion entered our country and began a war of plunder and recolonization with the aim of destroying and systematically exterminating a people which asked only to live in freedom and sovereignty in its own territory.

No means of destruction was spared, including bombardment with napalm and white phosphorous, collective massacres of the defenceless civilian population, looting of property, sacking of houses, and decimation of livestock.

Some of our compatriots perished, while others were imprisoned in fascist gaols where they are even now being subjected to the worst brutalities of the torturers of the armies of occupation.

Faced with this situation, tens of thousands of Saharans have fled and are today refugees outside their own country, living in extremely harsh conditions.

Who is responsible for this situation?

Yet, Spain, which is only the administering Power, has always reaffirmed the irrefutable truth that the Saharan people will have the last word without being subjected to pressure or foreign interference, and that the Territory of the Sahara, together with its natural resources, belongs to the Saharans, and to them only, and for this reason, the Spanish can never take possession of the Territory or its natural resources.

However, all that has not prevented Spain from reneging on all its commitments to the Saharan people and to the international community, or from committing the greatest act of treachery of modern times in the area of decolonization.

Instead of bowing to the wishes of the people and to the resolutions of the international authorities by leaving the country to its legitimate owners - the Saharans - Spain did not hesitate to evade international law and resort to the crudest manoeuvres and to force and, ultimately, to sign with its two accomplices - Morocco and Mauritania - the infamous Madrid Agreement of 14 November 1975. The aim of that Agreement is to deprive our people of its legitimate rights, to plunder its mineral wealth and divide the Territory.

After the signing of this Agreement, our movement, the Frente POLISARIO, defined its official position through its most authorative representative, its Secretary, the martyr Mustapha Sayed el-Wali, in a statement to the press on 15 November 1975.

The essence of the communiqué issued on that occasion was as follows:

"The Spanish colonialists have concluded an agreement with the expansionist Governments of Rabat and Nouakchott to divide up our country. We take this opportunity, first, to recall a number of principles:

"The right to self-determination belongs to colonial peoples, which must exercise it without being subjected to any pressure. No one can exercise it for them.

"The concept of 'concerned parties' arises from the fact that the neighbours of the Sahara have an interest in putting an end to the colonial situation in

in the region. Consequently, they should assist the Saharan people to free themselves by exerting pressure to that end on the colonial Power.

"However, certain 'concerned parties' have conspired and allied themselves with the colonizer in order to rob our people of its victories and its rights, thereby violating United Nations resolutions acknowledging unequivocally the right of our people to determine its future in sovereignty and complete freedom.

"Our people which is currently contending with the Moroccan military invasion, considers the Agreement concluded between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania as NULL AND VOID, and as an act of aggression and banditry."

In the same statement our brother, the Secretary-General, went on to appeal to the United Nations to observe at first hand the Moroccan invasion of the north-eastern part of our country, an invasion which began on 31 October 1975, on the eve of the famous "green march".

"Our people urgently calls on the United Nations to send an observer mission immediately to witness the Moroccan aggression which is continuing in the form of an undisguised military invasion in the north-eastern part of our country, an area that has already been liberated, as have the vast majority of our region.

"The United Nations can verify at first hand that our people is already master of its own country and that it is also being subjected to an attempted invasion which constitutes a serious attack on the sovereignty of a foreign country and a violation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

"Our people has decided to consider the Frente POLISARIO as its sole legitimate representative. It will do what is necessary to defend that decision.

"The plots being hatched against the right of our people to self-determination and independence only complicate the problem; that is why international opinion, the United Nations and OAU must firmly oppose this act of international banditry."

The Madrid Agreement which was an attempt to present the Saharan people and the United Nations with an illegal and detestable fait accompli, enabled the three countries to revise, and to change the essence of the General Assembly's policy by denying the right to self-determination of the Saharan people and preparing the ground for annexing and parcelling out the Territory among the claimant States.

The three States have thus set at naught the right of any people, and the Saharan people in particular, to independence, and by consigning to the limbo of history all the United Nations decisions on this question, they have fundamentally changed the context and the basis of the whole question of the decolonization of

Western Sahara. They have suppressed the right of the Saharan people to self-determination or, at best, have made that right merely an aspect of the illegal and illegitimate ambitions of Morocco and Mauritania. They have struck at one of the basic principles of morality and universal civilization, thrown up by the age-old struggle of mankind, namely, the right to freedom and in the case of peoples, the right to self-determination.

Thus, the effective decolonization of Western Sahara has been prevented and the process of decolonization, to which the United Nations has devoted such great efforts, has become a process of annexation, a new colonialism.

The suppression of the natural and logical legal process of decolonization as regards the international status of the Territory and the legitimate aspirations of its people to self-determination and independence has broken the links between Western Sahara and its future as a free entity.

The Spanish judge, Frederico de Castro, a member of the International Court of Justice, stated that Spain has never had and does not now have any status as a party to a dispute with Morocco or any other State concerning the attributes of present or past sovereignty over a Non-Self-Governing Territory in respect of which it is the administering Power. Spain could neither recognize the claim of any other State to the Territory, nor agree to its joint administration, nor award sovereignty to itself.

The administering Power must be aware that it could not give away the Saharan's right to self-determination, recognized by eight General Assembly resolutions and by the parties directly concerned, and that it had no power to deny recognition of that right.

The French judge, André Gros, gave a similar opinion. He wrote: "What could the Spanish Government say in reply to a demand from the Government of Morocco for the incorporation of the Territory into the Kingdom of Morocco, when the two Governments have specifically agreed to move ahead with the decolonization of the Territory by a process conducted within the United Nations. It could only say that it was not competent to decide alone a question which the two Governments, and many others as well, had been discussing in various United Nations organs. Even if the Spanish Government had agreed to support the Moroccan Government's claim, its action would have had no force in international law."

The invalidity of the tripartite Madrid Agreement of 14 November 1975 derives from its nature, from the status of the contracting States, and from the purposes of the Agreement itself.

The Territory was hastily evacuated, thus enabling two armies, Mauritanian and Moroccan, to invade it and endeavour to establish a fait accompli and thus prevent the Saharan people from exercising its right to self-determination. The Agreement which brought that situation about cannot be regarded otherwise than as an agreement for the alienation and disposal of the Territory.

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The Agreement is not one for administration, but for disposal. In the view of the United Nations, if the administering Power, which does not have sovereignty over the Territory, exercises powers delegated to it by the international community to administer the Territory until self-determination, that is in no way a power to dispose of the Territory. Thus, Spain greatly exceeded its powers as administering Power, jeopardizing the rights of the Saharan people formally acknowledged for 10 years past by Spain itself and the international community. As administering Power, Spain should have confined itself to administering Western Sahara, remembering that it was merely the appointed agent of the United Nations to which it was bound by its agreements to carry out the policy of decolonization.

It cannot be contended that the United Nations vote on resolution 3458 B (XXX) of 10 December 1975 altered the fact that the Agreement of 14 November 1975 was of no effect. Those States which voted for the resolution did so only after incorporating in it three references to the right of the Saharan people to self-determination. In other words, the reintroduction of that right made inoperative the "disposal" mechanism which Spain had tried to bring into play with the Madrid Agreement.

Furthermore, even if the States which had voted for the resolution, and even if the whole United Nations had wanted to endorse the right of disposal (which would mean setting aside the right of the Saharan people to self-determination), they would thereby have far exceeded their powers and acted without legal basis or political justification. The Saharan people's right to self-determination can disappear only if the people itself disappears.

Moreover, the invalidity of the Madrid Agreement derives from the status of the contracting States themselves, since neither Spain, nor the other two contracting States, Morocco and Mauritania, which are third parties to the question of the decolonization of the Sahara by the self-determination of its people, had any competence to dispose of a Territory and a people which are alien to them and will continue to be so until such time as the people shall have decided its future by a free and authentic act.

It is clear that Spain is not competent to sign an agreement with third States affecting the fate of a Territory and a population which are alien to it. Spain's lack of competence in the matter is inherent in the status of the Territory of Western Sahara as "separate and distinct" from that of Spain, within the meaning of General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV); it derives also from the fact that the Saharan people, which is politically and juridically separate from the Spanish people, had a positive and inviolable right to self-determination, which precludes any other people or Government from deciding its fate for it. Finally, Spain did not exercise sovereignty over Western Sahara and that would have been the only basis on which Spain could have concluded an agreement for the disposal of the Territory, such as that of 14 November 1975.

As for Morocco and Mauritania, the other two parties to the Madrid Agreement, they can only be regarded as third States when the International Court of Justice

had confirmed what Spain itself had constantly maintained, namely, that there was no Moroccan, or Mauritanian territorial sovereignty in Western Sahara, nor, a fortiori, any "Moroccan possession from time immemorial".

In that connexion, it may be recalled that the Court decided that the concept of territorial integrity referred to in paragraph 6 of resolution 1514 (XV) had been erroneously interpreted by Morocco and could not be applied in Western Sahara unless there were Moroccan territorial sovereignty over the region, which the Court, after a thorough examination, found not to be the case.

There is no doubt that the purpose of the Agreement is illegal. Thus, the illegality of the tripartite Madrid Agreement of 14 November is evident in two ways.

In the first place, the right to self-determination is an imperative and peremptory principle of jus cogens which the international community holds as a superior principle from which there can be no derogation.

The Spanish Government itself, in paragraph 344 of its written submission to the International Court of Justice, stated that it was no longer possible to regard the right of peoples to self-determination as a philosophical concept, a moral principle or a political aspiration, nor to deny it as a positive principle of international law. On the contrary, contemporary positive international law enshrines the right of peoples to self-determination as a principle of jus cogens, or an imperative principle from which there can be no derogation except by another rule of equal status.

Consequently, any attempt to defeat the right to self-determination by making an agreement with third States to set that right aside, can only make such an agreement null and void.

The Spanish Government is well aware that article 53 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties specifically invalidates any agreement which violates any principle of jus cogens, so that the tripartite Agreement concluded in violation of the superior principle of the right to self-determination, may justly be regarded as void.

That fact, which constitutes the second aspect of the invalidity of the tripartite Agreement, is so cogent that even those Member States which voted for resolution 3458 B could only approve the substance of the agreement mentioned in paragraph 1 of that resolution by referring three times, in the paragraphs which follow, to the inalienable right of the Saharan populations to self-determination.

It must be emphasized that since they took on themselves the heavy responsibility of invading the Territory of Western Sahara, Morocco and Mauritania can only be regarded as aggressors, with all the legal consequences which that entails under the relevant provisions of the Charter, the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, and resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, on the definition of aggression.

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The latter resolution, in particular, in the sixth preambular paragraph of the definition, states that neglect of "the duty of States not to use armed force to deprive peoples of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence" constitutes aggression.

Article 7 of the definition of aggression in this resolution mentions support of peoples, such as the Saharan populations, fighting for self-determination against invading armies. "Nothing in this Definition", the article states, "could in any way prejudice the right to self-determination, freedom and independence, as derived from the Charter, of peoples forcibly deprived of that right and referred to in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, particularly peoples under colonial ... régimes ... nor the right of these peoples to struggle to that end and to seek and receive support, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and in conformity with the abovementioned Declaration".

In that connexion, one of the main provisions of the Madrid Agreement which provides for the consultation of the people of Western Sahara through the <u>Jema'a</u> is no longer valid since the <u>Jema'a</u> dissolved itself at Guelta on 28 November 1975 when it issued a communiqué recognizing the Frente POLISARIO as the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people.

It is sufficient to recall the statement of the Spanish Government in its memorandum to the Secretary-General of 25 February 1976, immediately prior to the famous meeting of the Jema'a:

"In accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of the Madrid Declaration of Principles of 14 November 1975, the Spanish Government, has decided that it will definitively terminate its presence in the Territory tomorrow, 26 February 1976, and a meeting of the <u>Jema'a</u> has been convened for that purpose ... That meeting does not constitute the popular consultation provided for in the Madrid agreements of 14 November 1975 and in General Assembly resolution 3458 B (XXX)."

Also in his letter to the Secretary-General of 26 February 1976, the Permanent Representative of Spain stated that "The decolonization of Western Sahara will reach its climax when the views of the Saharan population have been validly expressed".

Moreover, the Secretary-General stated, in reply to the Moroccan Minister of Foreign Affairs in connexion with the meeting of the Jema'a:

"Your Excellency's message raises a number of issues which would have had to be clarified under the terms of the above resolutions. However, the Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations has informed me today that his Government was not aware of your message. Under the circumstances, as Spain is both the administering Power of the Territory and a member of the interim administration, I am sure you will understand that I am not in a position to consider taking action with regard to your message."

Similarly, the Secretary-General replied as follows to the Permanent Representative of Mauritania, who had also invited him to send an observer to the meeting of the <u>Jema'a</u>:

"It is evident from the paragraphs cited above that the essential conditions for the application of resolutions 3458 A and B (XXX) have not been fulfilled. Accordingly, even if time had permitted and the necessary clarifications had been furnished concerning the meeting of the Jema'a, the appointment by me of a representative of the United Nations and the noting of the decisions taken would not constitute fulfilment of the General Assembly resolutions referred to above."

The attempt to make the resolutions of the competent United Nations organs meaningless has obviously failed. That failure has led to blatant aggression by the countries which had signed the Madrid tripartite Agreement against the Saharan people, aggression which is now taking on the proportions of outright genocide. The situation thus created would inevitably affect peace and stability in the entire region.

In the face of threatening destruction, the Saharan people had a duty to respond by action to ensure homogeneity and unity of the process initially worked out by the United Nations. It thus became appropriate and even imperative for that people to proclaim its independence if it was not to disappear. Since the administering Power had failed to fulfil its obligations, the only choice left to the Saharan people was either to submit to a bipartite recolonization, that is to say, resign itself to being removed from the stage of history, or to complete the liberation of its country and, to begin with, reaffirm its right to exist and continue its struggle.

Did not the King of Morocco officially state and subsequently repeat that there was no question of fighting against the Spanish? Rather than confront them, he preferred to retreat and wait for them to leave the areas liberated by the Saharans, before he made his attack. And whom did he attack? The Saharan people itself, for there is no one else.

Indeed, the Moroccan and Mauritanian armies wanted to fight only against the Saharans.

But our people is ready, more than ever, to defend its freedom and dignity; it is fully mobilized to repel those armies and thus protect the country's independence.

In its self-defence action against the attempt at recolonization, our people on 27 February 1976 proclaimed its independence and the establishment of its republic.

It continued its fight with courage and determination, striking hard and deadly blows against the Moroccan and Mauritanian aggressors.

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Today the aggressors have suffered grievous failures which have become increasingly evident despite the efforts made to conceal them. They have been defeated in the military, economic and diplomatic fields.

Two years have passed, and the Sahara is far from being controlled or pacified by the Moroccan and Mauritanian forces.

Our People's Liberation Army, which controls most of our country, is also carrying its action into the enemy's territory.

Hundreds of Moroccan and Mauritanian soldiers, officers and non-commissioned officers have been captured, not counting the thousands of dead and wounded and the enormous quantity of war matériel captured or destroyed by our fighters. The economic installations, particularly the phosphate mines of Bou-Crâa, have been immobilized.

The just struggle of our people and its perserverance and determination have won growing sympathy for it throughout the world.

Following the aggression against our country, the problem of the decolonization of the Sahara is now taking on increasingly serious dimensions which truly affect peace and stability not only in our region but in Africa and the world.

The Organization of African Unity, faithful to its mission, its principles and its Charter, has shown a justified concern over this situation. It has been able to distinguish the causes of the situation from its consequences, for in fact the present tension does not constitute the true problem, the cause of which lies in the maintenance of a situation of colonial domination over the Territory of Western Sahara and in the continued refusal to let our people exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

Since as early as 1966, the Organization of African Unity has adopted a number of resolutions reaffirming the inalienable right of our people to self-determination and independence.

That position was reflected in the adoption of the Addis Ababa and Mogadishu resolutions of May 1973 and June 1974 respectively.

The Organization of African Unity, faithful to its historic responsibility to keep up the struggle for total liberation of the continent from colonialism, adopted in its resolution CM/RES 301 a clear position in favour of the independence of Western Sahara.

In fact, the resolution called upon the neighbouring States directly concerned to intensify their efforts for the implementation of United Nations resolution 2983 (XXVII).

The above-mentioned resolution of the General Assembly

"Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the Sahara to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

"Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples and its solidarity with, and support for, the people of the Sahara in the struggle they are waging in order to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, and requests all States to give them all necessary moral and material assistance in that struggle;

"Expresses its support for, and solidarity with, the people of the Sahara, and calls upon the Government of Spain, in conformity with its obligations and its responsibility as the administering Power, to take effective measures to create the necessary conditions for the free exercise of their right to self-determination and independence."

Furthermore, the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at Maputo (People's Republic of Mozambique) in January 1976, adopted even more significant positions. In fact, the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity recognized the Frente POLISARIO as the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people and recommended support for our struggle against the Moroccan and Mauritanian invasion, which amounts to nothing more or less than a foreign occupation.

It is on this basis that the following resolution was adopted at the Conference of African Ministers of Foreign Affairs held in Mauritius from 24 to 29 June 1976:

"Recalling the principles and purposes of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and those of the United Nations,

"Recalling United Nations resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 relating to the self-determination and independence of countries and peoples under foreign domination,

"Recalling the OAU resolutions relating to the decolonization of Western Sahara,

- "1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the Saharan people to selfdetermination and national independence in accordance with the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and the Charter of the United Nations;
- "2. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to continue his mission with a view to enabling the Saharan people to exercise freely its right to self-determination;
- "3. Gives its unconditional support to the just struggle of the Saharan people for the recovery of its national rights;

- "4. Demands the immediate withdrawal of all foreign occupation forces and respect for the territorial integrity of Western Sahara and the national sovereignty of the Saharan people;
- "5. Asks the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to report to the next session of the OAU Council of Ministers regarding the implementation of this resolution;
- "6. Invites all parties to the conflict in Western Sahara, including the Saharan people, to take the necessary steps with a view to finding a solution acceptable to all, in particular to the Saharan people, in the context of African unity and in the interest of peace, friendship and goodneighbourliness in the region."

The African Heads of State, at the summit meeting held on Mauritius, aware of the gravity of the situation resulting from the aggression against our country, which was aimed at recolonizing it, reaffirmed the right of peoples to self-determination and decided to hold an extraordinary summit meeting on the question of the Sahara with the participation of the Saharan people.

Furthermore, despite the dilatory manoeuvres aimed at diverting OAU from its true goals, which are the complete liberation of our continent, the Mauritius decision was reiterated at the Libreville summit meeting, which set a date and site for the extraordinary meeting.

The summit meeting which was supposed to have been held during the first half of October has once again been postponed.

We can only deplore here the postponement of the date of the meeting each time and emphasize the gravity of this precedent in the history of OAU and its consequences for the entire continent. It has become clear that certain forces allied to the aggressors against the Sahara are attempting to discredit the African continent and its commitments by presenting it as incapable of solving its own problems; in reality, however, those circles are afraid of the judgement of OAU, just as Morocco and Mauritania were afraid of the expression of the will of the Saharan people. The Saharan problem thus assumes particular importance for the African continent.

We are confident that our African Heads of State will be able to implement their decisions and do justice to the Saharan people, thus saving our continent and ensuring its peace and security.

However, the situation in no way excuses the United Nations, which is the most appropriate framework for decolonization, from considering a problem which concerns it most of all.

For if Africa is still today concerned with a problem which has to do with the liberation of our continent, the international community, and the United Nations in

particular, must also concern itself with the problem, especially since this is the eleventh year that this matter is before the Organization and, without the shadow of a doubt, the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly which guarantee the rights of colonized peoples, and the Saharan people in particular, have not yet been implemented. That means that the decolonization of Western Sahara still has to be carried out and that the problem has not been solved by the departure of the Spanish army and administration, that is to say, the flight of Spain from its responsibilities.

The situation which followed is well known to all, a situation which, furthermore, received the attention of the United Nations and, in particular, its Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, who on several occasions took various steps with a view to ironing out difficulties.

In the Introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, presented on the eve of the thirty-first session, the Secretary-General said:

"In the rapidly evolving circumstances in Western Sahara, it was obviously desirable to defuse the situation and to find ways to render all possible assistance in the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session. In January 1976, therefore, I appointed a Special Representative who undertook an exploratory mission in the region. For reasons which are well-known this mission could not be concluded. In the circumstances, I resumed my consultations with the parties concerned and interested, with a view to clarifying the situation and to decreasing the tension. However, further developments, and the subsequent actions of some of the parties, finally precluded further initiatives by me."

We applaud the patient and firm efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General with a view to implementing the resolutions of the General Assembly, just as we showed our readiness to co-operate with the United Nations on the occasion of the visit by Ambassador Rydbeck, who was able to visit our refugees in Algeria and contact officials of our sole legitimate representative, the Frente POLISARIO.

The difficulties encountered, to which the Secretary-General refers in his report and which prevented the accomplishment of his mission, are well known. They arise from the obstinacy and refusal of the rebellious Governments of Morocco and Mauritania, which defy international laws and rules and the United Nations.

Ambassador Rydbeck, with exemplary devotion, made an honest attempt to carry out his mission. The observations which he gathered during the first part of his mission were, we are sure, of some help to the General Assembly and could help to clarify the situation in Western Sahara; for that reason we feel that they should be made available to representatives, who, we are confident, will be extremely interested in them.

The problem remains, therefore, entirely before the United Nations and this year again it will be the subject of discussion in the Organization, which must arrive at a decision and clearly indicate the source of the threat which has

prevented the Sahara from freeing itself peacefully and in conformity with the principles and recommendations of the United Nations. It is perhaps necessary to stress before the international community the cynical game of those who have attempted to divide the Saharan people, to dismember its territory, to bombard innocent people with napalm and to reduce the destiny of a nation to humanitarian considerations.

This is a classic manoeuvre of the colonialists; all Members of the United Nations know full well the causes for this and cannot be deceived by false interpretations of the consequences.

The problem of the refugees, which does exist and is our legitimate concern, is only a consequence of the real problem, which continues to be the decolonization of our country.

Is it necessary to remind Members of the United Nations that on several occasions, and most particularly at each session of the highest international organizations, which are truly the appropriate forums for any process of decolonization, namely the United Nations and OAU, enormous cover-up and evasion campaigns have been mounted? Our aggressors, unable to legitimize their crimes before the international community, even blame that community, attempting to neutralize it and to propose pseudo-solutions, always outside the framework of those organizations and under the terms of the tripartite Agreement, and to impose a fait accompli. We have in mind here what they call "mediations", based on truly acrobatic but more or less false interpretations of clear and unequivocal resolutions of international organizations.

It is now clear that the ploy of deferring discussion of the problem of the decolonization of Western Sahara from one organization to another is a manoeuvre designed to delay the implementation of resolutions of the United Nations and OAU.

The process of the decolonization of the Sahara no longer needs to be defined; the aspirations and will of its people are known. The decolonization process has been clearly defined and decided upon by the two organizations. The basic problem which confronts our people, united in the fight and in its determination to seize sovereignty, as well as the United Nations and OAU, is the problem posed by the foreign forces in the Sahara which have come to change and prevent this process from being completed, in defiance of United Nations missions, the will of the people of Western Sahara and the territorial integrity of the country by resorting to partition pure and simple, in full view of and with the knowledge of the entire international community.

It is therefore time for the United Nations to assume its responsibilities.

At its current session it must therefore restore the decolonization process to its normal course, give specific effect to the decisions of the General Assembly and take the decisions which have now become indispensable.

In particular, the United Nations must:

Reaffirm its fundamental principles, in particular the right of peoples to freedom and independence;

Remind Spain of its responsibilities with regard to the decolonization of the Sahara;

Reaffirm the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence, which has been impeded by the presence of troops in its territory;

Condemn the aggression committed against our country by Morocco and Mauritania and demand the withdrawal of the foreign Moroccan and Mauritanian forces from our territory under penalty of severe sanctions;

Remind Member States of their duty to show solidarity to countries which are victims of aggression and are struggling for their independence and request Member States urgently to refrain from giving any direct or indirect assistance to the aggressors.

The Frente POLISARIO, the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people, will always be ready to collaborate with the United Nations in the implementation of its resolutions, which have repeatedly reaffirmed the inalienable right of our people to self-determination and independence.

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# UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



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Item 24 of the provisional agenda\*\*

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

(covering its work during 1977)

Rapporteur: Mr. Sami GLAIEL (Syrian Arab Republic)

CHAPTERS IX-XI

#### WESTERN SAHARA, EAST TIMOR AND GIBRALTAR

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<sup>\*</sup> This document contains chaps. IX to XI of the Special Committee's report to the General Assembly. The general introductory chapter will be issued under the symbol A/32/23. Other chapters of the report will be issued under the same symbol or as addenda to document A/32/23. The complete report will be issued subsequently as Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session,

Supplement No. 23 (A/32/23/Rev.1).

<sup>\*\*</sup> A/32/150.

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#### CHAPTER IX

#### WESTERN SAHARA

#### A. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

- 1. The Special Committee considered the question of Western Sahara at its 1089th meeting, on 4 August 1977.
- 2. In its consideration of this item, the Special Committee took into account the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, including in particular resolution 31/143 of 17 December 1976 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By paragraph 12 of this resolution, the Assembly requested the Special Committee "to continue to seek suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in all Territories which have not yet attained independence". The Special Committee also took into account General Assembly resolution 31/45 of 1 December 1976 concerning the question of Western Sahara.
- 3. During its consideration of the item, the Special Committee had before it the working paper prepared by the Secretariat (see annex to the present chapter) containing information on developments concerning the Territory.

#### B. DECISION OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

4. At its 1089th meeting, on 4 August, following a statement by the Chairman (A/AC.109/PV.1089), the Special Committee decided, without objection, to give consideration to the item at its next session subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connexion at its thirty-second session and, in order to facilitate consideration of the item by the Assembly, to authorize its Rapporteur to transmit to the Assembly all available information on the question.

#### Annex\*

#### WORKING PAPER PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

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<sup>\*</sup> Previously issued under the symbol A/AC.109/L.1185 and Add.1 and 2.

#### WESTERN SAHARA

#### 1. BACKGROUND

- 1. It will be recalled that on 14 November 1975, the Governments of Spain, Morocco and Mauritania agreed upon a Declaration of Principles also known as the Madrid Agreement, a/ with respect to the Territory of Spanish Sahara. According to the Declaration, Spain would terminate its presence in the Territory no later than 28 February 1976, and would, during the interim period, transfer its powers to a temporary administration, comprising the existing Governor-General and two Deputy Governors to be nominated by Morocco and Mauritania. The Agreement also provided that the Jema'a (General Assembly), which would express the views of the Saharan population, would collaborate with that administration.
- 2. The Madrid Declaration was opposed by the Government of Algeria, which accused the Spanish Government of repudiating its obligations with respect to the decolonization of the Territory, violating international law and giving in to external pressures in agreeing to hand over the Territory to Morocco and Mauritania. b/
- 3. Subsequently, at its thirtieth session, the General Assembly adopted two resolutions on the question of Spanish Sahara. By resolution 3458 A (XXX) of 10 December 1975, the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Spanish Sahara to self-determination, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960; requested the Government of Spain as the administering Power, to take immediately all necessary measures so that all Saharans originating in the Territory might exercise fully and freely, under United Nations supervision, their inalienable right to self-determination; requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Government of Spain and the Special Committee, to make the necessary arrangements for supervision of the act of self-determination; and urged all parties to exercise restraint and to desist from any unilateral or other action outside the decision of the Assembly.
- 4. By resolution 3458 B (XXX) of 10 December 1975, the General Assembly took note of the tripartite agreement concluded at Madrid; reaffirmed the inalienable right to self-determination of all Saharan populations originating in the Territory; and requested the interim administration to take all necessary steps to ensure that all the Saharan population originating in the Territory would be able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination through free

a/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975 (S/11880, annex III).

b/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/31/23/Rev.1), vol. II, chap. XI, annex I, para. 34.

consultations organized with the assistance of a representative of the United Nations appointed by the Secretary-General.

- 5. In accordance with the Madrid Agreement, the Spanish Government completed the withdrawal of its presence in Spanish Sahara on 26 February 1976, without the exercise of the right to self-determination by the population of the Territory as called for by the General Assembly. The withdrawal of Spain and the transfer of authority to Morocco and Mauritania was, however, endorsed by the Jema'a. c/
- 6. In replies to invitations from the Governments of Morocco and Mauritania to send a representative to attend the deliberations of the <u>Jema'a</u> on the transfer of authority, the Secretary-General said it was evident that "the essential conditions for the implementation <u>/</u>of resolutions 3458 A (XXX) and 3458 B (XXX)/ have not been fulfilled". <u>d</u>/
- 7. On 14 April 1976, Morocco and Mauritania signed an agreement in Rabat establishing a joint Moroccan-Mauritanian commission to carry out the demarcation of the frontier between the two countries. According to the agreement, the frontier between Mauritania and Morocco would be defined by the straight line linking the point of intersection of the 24th parallel north and the 13th meridian. west.
- 8. The above-mentioned arrangements were opposed by Algeria and by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO), which was reported in March 1976 to have declared the creation of the "Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR)". e/ SADR was recognized by Algeria on 7 March following which both Morocco and Mauritania broke off diplomatic relations with Algeria. Subsequently SADR was recognized by nine other States. f/
- 9. Developments concerning the Territory during the period under review are summarized briefly below.
  - 2. CONSIDERATION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-FIRST SESSION
- 10. During the general debate in the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, reference to the question was made by the representatives of Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria.

c/ <u>Ibid.</u>, para. 51.

d/ <u>Ibid.</u>, paras. 47-48.

e/ Ibid., para. 60.

 $<sup>\</sup>underline{f}$  Angola, Benin, Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda and Togo.

- 11. In his statement at the 20th meeting, on 6 October 1976, g/ the representative of Mauritania said that Morocco and Mauritania had enabled the Saharan population to exercise their right to self-determination in\_accordance with the procedure defined by paragraph 3 of the Madrid Agreement /that the opinion of the population would be expressed through the Jema'a/, which had been endorsed by the General Assembly /resolution 3458 B (XXX)/.
- 12. Thus, for Morocco and Mauritania, which considered that they had acted in accordance with the right recognized as theirs and with the resolution of the United Nations, the principle of self-determination could no longer be invoked for the population of the Territory, as they clearly had chosen to be Moroccan or Mauritanian.
- 13. At the 21st meeting, on 7 October, h/ the representative of Morocco said that the question of Spanish Sahara had been solved in a just and equitable way, but that it had been replaced by the equally delicate and more dangerous question of the relations among the various States of the area arising from diametrically opposed assessments of the question. These differences were creating tensions that were increasingly becoming a matter of concern. Morocco, however, while anxious to reach a peaceful solution had no intention of accepting any renunciation of its legitimate rights. He considered that any discussion of the question of the Sahara at that session would be dangerous, premature and inappropriate, and suggested that the General Assembly should address itself to the problem of the refugees at Tindouf, who he said were there against their will. In his view, the only objective and humane solution to that problem lay in the repatriation of all Tindouf refugees who were natives of the Sahara and that any other solution would tend to increase the state of tension.
- 14. In a statement before the General Assembly at the 32nd meeting on 14 October i/ the representative of Algeria maintained that, first, there had been no authentic consultation of the Saharan people in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations; second, the Tindouf refugees had not been prevented from returning home by the Algerian Government, but by the situation created by the military occupation of their country; and third, the tension in the region had developed precisely because the Sahara question had not been solved. His Government was therefore convinced that the only guarantee for a true and lasting solution to the problem would be the exercise by the Saharan people of their right to self-determination on the basis of the territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers and by means of an authentic referendum monitored and guaranteed by the United Nations.
- 15. The question of Western Sahara was subsequently considered by the Fourth Committee. On 11 November 1976, at its 22nd meeting, the Committee heard a

g/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 20th meeting, paras. 90-91.

h/ Ibid., 21st meeting, paras. 123-144.

i/ Ibid., 32nd meeting, paras. 185-188.

statement by Mr. Mohamed Abdelaziz, Secretary-General of the Frente POLISARIO. i/
In his statement, Mr. Abdelaziz said that the Moroccan and Mauritanian claims to
the Sahara were invalid and he accused those two countries of taking over the
country by military force in disregard of the international status of the
Territory, the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and the decisions
of the United Nations. He said that the Madrid Agreement was completely illegal
and invalid by virtue of its nature, and also because Spain, as the administering
Power, was not competent to sign with third States an agreement affecting the
destiny of a Territory which did not belong to it. Mr. Abdelaziz said that it was
the task of the General Assembly, inter alia, to reaffirm the right of the Saharan
people to self-determination and independence; to vigorously condemn Moroccan and
Mauritanian aggression; and to urge the two Governments to withdraw their
challenge to the international community.

16. On 1 December 1976, the General Assembly, acting on the report of its Fourth Committee, adopted resolution 31/45 on the question of Spanish Sahara. By this resolution, the General Assembly reaffirmed its commitment to the principles of self-determination; took note of the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity to convene an extraordinary session with a view to finding a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara; decided to postpone consideration of the question until its thirty-second session; and requested the Administrative Secretary of the OAU to inform the Secretary-General of the progress achieved in implementing the decision of the OAU concerning Western Sahara.

# 3. CONSIDERATION BY THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

17. At its thirteenth summit meeting, held at Port Louis from 2-5 July 1976, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, adopted a resolution on the question of Western Sahara by which it invited all parties concerned and interested to co-operate with a view to achieving a peaceful solution of the conflict in the interest of peace, justice and good neighbourliness. It also decided to hold a special session at the level of Heads of State and Government with the participation of the people of the Western Sahara for the purpose of finding a just and lasting solution to the problem. k/ In April 1977, however, the Frente POLISARIO in a letter to the Chairman of the OAU said that it was "disagreeably surprised" about the delay.

18. At its fourteenth summit meeting, held at Libreville from 2 to 5 July 1977,

j/ Ibid., Fourth Committee, 22nd meeting.

 $<sup>\</sup>underline{k}$ / For the text of the resolution see A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, and A/31/138-S/12143; for the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976 (S/12141), annex II and ibid. (S/12143).

the Heads of State and Government adopted a decision regarding the holding of an extraordinary summit meeting on the problem of the Sahara.

#### 4. ARMED CLASHES

- 19. Press reports indicate that several armed clashes have taken place between the forces of the Frente POLISARIO and those of Morocco and Mauritania. Although these reports are conflicting, on the basis of the available official and non-official accounts, it appears that several localities have been affected by armed confrontations: Smara, Amgala, Argoud, Bu Craa, Bir Moghrein, Dakhla, Mahbes and Lemsaid. In the reports of these confrontations, estimates of losses in personnel and equipment varied widely.
- 20. A significant example of these clashes took place on 1 May 1977 on Mauritanian soil at the mining centre of Zouerate, the credit for which was claimed by POLISARIO. According to various press reports, two French citizens, members of the French community working for the Mauritanian enterprise Société nationale industrielle et minière (SNIM) were killed in the attack by guerrillas of the Frente POLISARIO who were reportedly armed with rockets, machine guns and submachine guns. In addition, six members of this French community, including a woman, were abducted by the attackers and their whereabouts remain unknown. The incident evoked a strong public reaction in France and was the subject of several statements by Mr. Louis de Guiringaud, the Foreign Minister of France. These statements emphasized that France had nothing to do with the Sahara problem and that the Government of France could not accept the use of civilian hostages as a means to pressure France to support the POLISARIO quest for Saharan "independence".
- 21. Following the Zouerate incident, Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, the President of Mauritania, who had condemned the attack, sent delegations to meet with King Hassan II of Morocco and with Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, President of France, at Paris. According to press reports the participants in these meetings sought to find ways to secure the release of the six French hostages unharmed.
- 22. Subsequently it was reported that 276 French employees, out of a total of 700 engaged in work in the mining enterprises in and around Zouerate, had been evacuated out of Mauritania.
- 23. Reports from Frente POLISARIO stated that the Zouerate operation had been planned and executed successfully to accomplish two objectives, one military and one psychological, in order to attract world-wide attention to their "struggle".
- 24. In conjunction with these developments, which are indicative of a heightening of tension in the area, the Deputy Permanent Representative of Algeria, in a letter dated 9 May 1977, transmitted to the Secretary-General the text of a message from Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria (A/32/86, annex). In his message, Mr. Bouteflika, said that "the multiplication and intensification of the fighting is evidence, if further evidence were needed, of the determination of the people of Western Sahara and demonstrates to the whole world that there cannot be peace as long as the legitimate and fundamental rights

of the Saharan people to self-determination are not achieved". Mr. Bouteflika also stated in his letter to the Secretary-General that "Algeria wishes to reiterate that it is ready for any initiative you may take in association with the administering Power, the legitimate representatives of the people of Western Sahara and the other concerned and interested parties. Action along these lines will provide a solid basis for the advent of a just and durable peace and fruitful co-operation for all the peoples of the region".

- 25. In June 1976, it was reported that Mr. Sayed el-Wali, the Secretary-General of Frente POLISARIO, had been killed in a confrontation with Mauritanian troops. Frente POLISARIO confirmed his death but left the circumstances of the death unclear.
- 26. According to press reports from Madrid, in June 1977, units of the Frente POLISARIO attacked the mine installations of FOSBUCRAA, at Bu Craa. Ten Moroccan soldiers and a Spanish workman were reported to have died during the attack. It was also reported that, following the attack, 129 workmen and technicians of Spanish origin were withdrawn from the site and that all operations at the phosphate mines had been stopped.
- 27. These reports have been denied by the Moroccan authorities.
- 28. It will be recalled that the phosphate mines, with reserves estimated at 1.7 billion tons, are transported by means of a 160-mile conveyor belt from the mines of Bu Craa to the port city El Aaiún.
- 29. In a letter dated 7 July 1977, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12360), the Permanent Representative of Mauritania to the United Nations stated that on 3 July, Nouakchott, the capital of Mauritania had again been attacked. The attack had caused casualties among the civilian population. The Permanent Representative of Mauritania went on to say that this new "act of aggression" had been conceived and prepared by the Algerian authorities. It was further stated in the letter that the Mauritanian Government reserved the right to take whatever measures might be necessary and, in particular, to request, at an appropriate time, a meeting of the Security Council.
- 30. In response, in a letter dated 28 July 1977, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12374), the Deputy Permanent Representative of Algeria, on behalf of his Government, denied the Mauritanian charges, stating that Mauritania "saw fit, once again, to implicate Algeria, in the wake of the losses that continue to be inflicted on it by ... the Frente POLISARIO".
- 31. On 7 July, it was reported from Paris that two young gunmen had fired at the Mauritanian ambassador to Paris through the back window of his car. The Ambassador, Mr. Ahmed Ould Ghanahallah, was reported to have been wounded but out of danger. The Frente POLISARIO denied any involvement in that incident, which it described as "a provocation which vainly seeks to discredit the struggle of our people and sow confusion".

# AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

- sur Political - for OCT IN 2 70 PH 177 mformation INWARDS P

The Secretary Department of Foreign Affairs CANBERRA

c.c. Nairobi OP254 Paris OP255 Madrid OP256 UN New York OP257 FILE No. 862/98/1

MEMO No. 305

2 October 1977

#### WESTERN SAHARA

In the course of a discussion on 28 September with M Ben Sid, Director of the Asia-Latin America Division of the Foreign Ministry, I asked about Algerian official reactions to the recent announcement that the OAU summit meeting, due to take place in Lusaka in the first half of October to consider the Western Sahara, would be postponed until early 1978. There have been no official Algerian Government statements on the postponing which seems surprising in view of the importance of this issue in Algerian foreign policy. M. Ben Sid said that Algeria had no alternative but to accept the reasons for this postponement philosophically and on their face value. There were security problems in Lusaka because of the incidents on the Zimbabwe border and it was clearly impossible for the Secretary General to push ahead with a meeting which the host Government was reluctant to organise.

M.) Ben Sid agreed that the Moroccan and Mauritanian governments had been working actively behind the scenes to prevent the meeting and that there had been a reluctance on the part of some African states to make the necessary financial contribution but he expressed confidence that the meeting would take place early next year. I commented that I did not see how they could be sure that the security situation in Zimbabwe would be any better and asked if there were any contingency plans on the Algerian side to hold the meeting elsewhere but Ben Sid was not drawn into further comment.

3. We were told that the Algerian government had full confidence in the impartiality and seriousness of President Bongo of Gabon and in the Secretary General of the OAU both of whom had undertaken to make sure that the summit meeting would be held in accordance with the decision of last year's OAU meeting in Mauritius. The Vice President of the Algerian National Assembly M. Yaker has recently been National Assembly M. Yaker has recently been on a mission to Libreville and was, we were told, given further assurances by President Bongo. The OAU Secretary General, as you know, has been strongly criticized by Morocco and Mauritania for pushing forward with the organisation of the Sahara summit on the

grounds that there is no "quorum" in favour of holding it.

I. Ben Sid said the Secretary General should not have been criticized for taking the perfectly correct position that a decision having been made by consensus to hold the summit it was not relevant if certain states now demonstrated reticence about attending. There was no OAU provision requiring a quorum of participants nor could the Moroccans argue that attendance by Heads of State only and not their representatives was necessary.

Despite M. Ben Sid's optimistic assessment of the prospects for the summit meeting taking place early next year, it seems to have become bogged down because of the reluctance of many African countries to get involved in what is bound to be a fruitless exercise, probably for financial as well as political reasons. It also seems to us, and I commented along these lines to M. Ben Sid, that the Algerians will now find it difficult to get anything out of UNGA this year on the Sahara other than a resolution expressing the pious hope that the OAU will find a way out of the present impasse. There are reports of further efforts by Senegal to mediate by getting the Moroccan and Mauritanian governments to organise some kind of popular consultation There may be scope for quiet diplomacy along these lines but the Algerians, and even more the Polisario, are not going to accept any face-saving arrangement which does not provide for a genuine popular consultation with the participation of the United Nations.

5. We are sending a copy of this memorandum to Nairobi, Paris and Madrid.

(J.A.D.Piper) Ambassador

# INWARD CABLEGRAM

0.MA4219 JBG12/NW TOR 0552 24.9.77

O.MA4219 1700 23.9.77 CLA

TO. RR CANBERRA/3195

RP.
RR NEW YORK UN/44 BRUSSELS/28 LONDON/357
RR WASHINGTON/26

per arrogar

FM. MADRID / REF O.MA4211

CONFIDENTIAL

SPANISH FOREIGN POLICY

LAST LINE OF PARA 1 SHOULD READ:

QUOTE : ALGERIA CONTINUES TO ENCOURAGE SUBVERSION BY THE CANARY ISLANDS SEPARATIST MOVEMENT, MPAIAC. UNQUOTE.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPT DEFENCE ONA JIO PM AND C

ACTION : EUR

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO STE FAS (NSA) FAS (WES) ASP AME FAS (DEF) DP DC HOCI FAS (IOC) IO FAS (PCR) INF FAS (MFS) FAREP (S-M-P) ALGIERS CAIRO GENEVA LISBON MOSCOW PARIS EMB TEL AVIV

# INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.MA4207 MB1/NIV TOR 1208 23.9.77

0.MA4207 1645 22.9.77 CLA

TO. RR CANBERRA/3185

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RP.
RR NEW YORK UN/42 BRUSSELS /26 WASHINGTON/24
RR LONDON/355

FM. MADRID / REF 0.MA4197

RESTRICTED

SPANISH FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

CONTINUATION OF 0.MA4197

PSOE, PCE AND 'MIXED GROUP' SPOKESMEN EXPOUNDED BROADLY SIMILAR POLICY LINES. THEY CALLED FOR THE REMOVAL OF FOREIGN BASES IN SPAIN, NON-PARTICIPATION IN MILITARY ALLIANCES, ENTRY OF SPAIN INTO THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, 'DECOLONISATION' OF GIBRALTAR, SUPPORT FOR THE POLISARIO FRONT IN THE WESTERN SAHARA, AND ACTION TO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA.

- 2. PSOE SPOKESMPAN URGED RE-NEGOTIATION OF THE TREATY OF CO-OPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES, FACILITATION OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, 'ACTIVE NEUTRALITY' AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE THIRD WORLD, SUPPORT FOR THE UN WORKING GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND RESTRICTION OF FINANCIAL CREDITS TO CHILE, ARGENTINA AND PARAGUAY.
- 3. PCE SPOKESMAN, WHO REITERATED HIS PARTY'S CALL FOR A COALITION GOVERNMENT OF THE MAIN SPANISH PARTIES, FAVOURED NEUTRALITY AND NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE DISMANTLING OF BOTH NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT BUT FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN BASED ON TOTAL INDEPENDENCE. INTEGRATION IN THE EEC SHOULD BE CONDITIONAL ON EFFECTIVE PROTECTION OF INTERESTS OF SPANISH WORKERS IN EUROPE. HE ASKED THAT SPAIN PARTICIPATE IN GENERAL ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT NEXT YEAR UNDER A SPECIAL STATUTE, ANNUL THE 1975 TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON THE SAHARA, BAN DELIVERY OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO MOROCCO, AND VOTE 'IN A DEMOCRATIC SENSE' ON LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES IN THE UNITED NATIONS.
- 4. SPOKE SMAN OF THE CONSERVATIVE ALIANZA POPULAR, WHO DENOUNCED EEC TREATMENT OF THE SPANISH FISHING INDUSTRY, URGED EARLY NEGOTIATION WITH THE EEC ON A BASIS WHICH WOULD PROTECT

## INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.MA4207

SPANISH INDSTRY AND AGRICULTURE AND SPANISH IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN EUROPE. HE URGED RESPECT FOR ALL LATIN AMERICAN STATES IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR REGIMES, EXPRESSED CONCERN AT SPAIN'S DEFICIT IN RELATION TO OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES AND OPPOSED ANY ACTION ON THE SAHARA WHICH COULD ESCALATE ARMED CONFRONTATION. SPAIN SHOULD SEEK SOVEREIGNTY OVER GIBRALTAR WITHOUT DIMINISHING THE RIGHTS OF THE GIBRALTARIAN PEOPLE. HE SUPPORTED ACCESSION TO NATO ON THE GROUND THAT SPAIN'S POPULATION AND RESOURCES ALONE WERE INSUFFICIENT TO GUARANTEE INDEPENDENCE BUT INSISTED ON SOVEREIGNTY OVER GIBRALTAR AS A PREREQUISITE.

- 5. BASQUE-CATALAN SPOKESMAN DENOUNCED INJUSTICES UNDER FOREIGN TOTALITARIAN REGIMES, APPLAUDED SPAIN'S APPLICATION FOR EEC MEMBERSHIP, EMPHASIZED THE URGENT NECESSITY OF RESOLVING THE FISHING INDUSTRY CRISIS CAUSED BY EEC MEASURES, AND SUPPORTED NEGOTIATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND REPRESENTATION IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. HE SUGGESTED SPAIN AS VENUE FOR THE NEXT EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE.
- 6. MIXED GROUP SPOKESMAN (RAUL MORODO, PSP) CALLED FOR REVISION OF THE FRANCO-SALAZAR IBERIAN PACT WITH PORTUGAL, EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT SPAIN WAS COVERTLY MOVING TOWARDS LINKS WITH NATO, URGED A MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY SYSTEM INCLUDING NORTH AFRICA AND EUROPE BUT EXCLUDING THE USSR AND USA, AND SUPPORTED PLO REPRESENTATION IN MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS AND ALSO RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL. HE SUGGESTED NEGOTIATIONS WITH MOROCCO ON THE FUTURE OF CEUTA AND MELILLA AND ON MARITIME DELIMITATION OF THE CANARY ISLANDS.
- FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA PLEADED FOR CONSENSUS BETWEEN THE POLITICAL PARTIES AS A PREREQUISITE FOR DEVELOPING AN ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY. AFTER REFERENCES TO PEACE, SECURITY, HUMAN RIGHTS, SEARCH FOR DETENTE, DISARMAMENT AND A MORE JUST INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICORRDOER AS MAINSPRINGS OF SPANISH POLICY HE SAID SPAIN DID NOT HAVE OR WANT GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES BUT COULD PLAY A SIGNIFICANT PART IN ITS OWN GEOPOLITICAL SPHERE. HE BRIEFLY MENTIONED THE EEC'S POSITIVE RESPONSE TO SPAIN'S REQUEST FOR MEMBERSHIP. SPAIN WOULD ENTER THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND WOULD ACCEDE TO THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD MOVE TO COMPLETE ITS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES AT AN OPPORTUNE TIME. IT DESIRED A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF ACCESSION TO NATO. THE WAY HAD BEEN OPENED FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION OF THE GIBRALTAR PROBLEM WHICH WOULD RESPECT SPANISH SOVEREIGNTY AND THE INTERESTS OF THE LOCAL POPULATION. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT ALLOW ANY FOREIGN COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO THE CANARY ISLANDS.

3-0.MA4207

REGARDING THE SAHARA OREJA SAID PRESENT POLICY HAD BEEN CONDITIONED BY DECISIONS TAKEN BEFORE THE POST-FRANCO GOVERNMENTS. SPAIN WISHED TO SEE DIMINUTION OF HUMAN SUFFERING IN THE PRESENT SITUATION AND WOULD BE GUIDED BY ITS UNITED NATIONS CHARTER OBLIGATIONS AND THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SPAIN'S LETTER OF 26 FEBRUARY 1976 ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN WHICH SPAIN GAVE NOTICE THAT IT WAS LEAVING THE TERRITORY. HE DENIED THAT SPAIN NOW HAD ANY SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITY REGARDING THE SAHARA PROBLEM BUT SAID THE GOVERNMENT WAS WILLING TO COLLABORATE WITH ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT IN A SEARCH FOR A JUST SOLUTION. ALTHOUGH THE SAHARAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY (THE YEMAA), CONSISTING OF TRIBAL SHEIKHS AND OTHER NOTABLES, HAD, FOLLOWING THE SIGNING OF THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY BY SPAIN, MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA ON 14 NOVEMBER 1975, BEEN FORMALLY ADVISED OF THE TERMS OF THAT AGREEMENT, SPAIN DID NOT REGARD THIS AS AN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AS DEFINED BY THE UN RESOLUTION ON THE SUBJECT.

9. IN LATIN AMERICA, OREJA SAID, HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD
BE APPLIED BY ALL REGIMES BUT DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION BY SPAIN
DID NOT IMPLY APPROVAL OF INTERNAL POLICIES AND RUPTURE
COULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. ON BELIZE THE GOVERNMENT
HOPED A JUST, NEGOTIATED AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION RESPECTING
GUATEMALA'S HISTORIC RIGHTS AND THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS
OF THE BELIZE PEOPLE WOULD BE FOUND.

10. CANBERRA PLEASE PASS BAG COPIES TO ALGIERS AND OTHER APPROPRIATE POSTS.

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MIN. AND DEPT DEFENCE
O.N.A.
J.I.O.
P.M. AND C.

BE STRAGIS

## INWARD CABLEGRAM

O. PA36610 LFF3/DAE TOR 0521 20.9.77

0.PA36610 1830 19.09.77 CLA

TO. RR CANBERRA/398

RP. RR ALGIERS/290 NEW YORK UN/433 JEDDAH/141

FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7

RESTRICTED

WESTERN SAHARA

LE MONDE 'S CORRESPONDENT AT ALGIERS, COMMENTING ON THE POST PONE-MENT OF THE EXTRAORDINARY OAU 'SUMMIT' ON THE WESTERN SAHARA WHICH WAS TO HAVE BEEN HELD AT LUSAKA BETWEEN 5 AND 10 OCTOBER, REPORTS SPECULATION IN DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES IN ALGIERS THAT POST PONEMENT WAS DECIDED IN ORDER TO ALLOW TIME FOR A SAUDI ARABIAN MEDIATION ATTEMPT. THE COMPROMISE PROPOSALS ATTRIBUTED TO THE SAUDIS WERE SAID TO IN-VOLVE:

(A) A ''CONSULTATION' DESIGNED TO RESPECT THE PRINCIPLE OF SELR-DETERMINATION, AND SO GIVE MORAL SATISFACTION TO ALGERIA, WHILE MAINTAINING

(B) THE TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO IN FAVOUR OF MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA'S
(C) MOROCCAN RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF IFRANE UNDER WHICH MOROCCO
RENOUNCED ITS CLAIMS TO TINDOUF:

(D) JOINT EXPLOITATION OF MINERAL RESOURCES BY MOROCCO, MAURITANIA

AND ALGERIA: AND
(E) SAUDI ARABIAN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO A NUMBER OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS.

2. THE CORRESPONDENT REPORTS THAT THE POLISARIO HAS CATEGORICALLY REJECTED AN ARRANGEMENT OF THIS KIND AND COMMENTS THAT IT IS HARD TO SEE HOW ALGERIA COULD ACCEPT IT. THIS IS IN LINE WITH COMMENTS MADE TO US ON 16 SEPTEMBER BY THE DIRECTOR OF NORTH AFRICA AND THE LEVANT IN THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY WHO SAID THAT HE SAW NO PRESENT PROSPECT OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT FOR THE WESTERN SAHARA AND THAT THE OUTLOOK SEEMED TO BE FOR CONTINUED MILITARY AND POLITICAL STALEMATE.

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MIN AND DEPI DEFENCE
ONA
JIO
PM AND C

# BESTRICTED

# INWARD CABLEGRAM

2 - PA36610

ACTION : AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO FAS (WES) ASP EUR FAS (DEF) DP DC HOCI FAS (IOC) IO FAS (PCR) INF FAS (MFS) FAREP (SMP)





AUSTRALIAN MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
885 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

TELEPHONE 212-421-6910

Files: 103/3/4(32); 412/1 WA

11 August 1977

The Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
CANBERRA.

Memo : 1325

Algiers Emb.

OP1099

935) ~ Copy hMEN4

#### COMMITTEE OF 24 : WESTERN SAHARA

Please refer to our cables O.UN8799 and 8809.

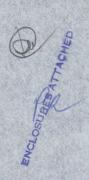
2. We attach the text of the Chairman's statement closing the Committee's consideration of the Western Sahara. As noted in our 0.UN8809 there were no speakers this year on the territory.
UNGA 32

3. While discussion of this question can be contained within the OAU, there is unlikely to be much debate in the UN nor is it likely that one side or the other will propose divisive draft resolutions. The hope is that at UNGA 32 the question of the Western Sahara can be dealt with as quietly as it was at UNGA 31.

Stresler

(G.J. FOrrester) First Secretary

Documents: A/AC109/L.1185, Add 1 and 2 Secretariat Working Paper on Western Sahara



consideration by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit meeting held at The CHAIRMAN; As members are aware, this question was the subject of to convene an extraordinary session devoted to the examination of the situation implementation of its own decision, taken during the session held in Mauritius, Lle in July this year. The summit's focal attention was given to the concerning the question of Western Sahara. Libre

Following consultations, the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, at its fourteenth ordinary session, agreed that the extraordinary session should be held in Lusaka, Zambia. It is expected that the summit meeting will be held during the first half of October this year.

(The Chairman)

In the light of the circumstances and in view of the important nature of the question, I would suggest that the Committee agree to take up the question at its next session, subject to any decision which the General Assembly might take during its thirty-second session. Thus, the question would be referred directly to the Assembly which, through its Fourth Committee, may consider the item at an appropriate time.

In the meantime, in order to facilitate the Assembly's consideration of the matter, the Committee may wish to authorize its Rapporteur to transmit to the Assembly all available information on the question.

In this respect, I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Committee to the working paper prepared by the Secretariat on the question of Western Sahara contained in document A/AC.109/L.1185 and Add.1.

As there is no objection, I shall take it that the Committee decides to accept that proposal.

It is so decided.

QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

The CHAIRMAN: I understand that the representative of the administering Power, Portugal, wishes to make a statement. Accordingly, I now call on him.

Mr. QUARTIN SANTOS (Portugal): Mr. Chairman, allow me at the outset to thank you and all members of the Special Committee for the opportunity given to the Portuguese delegation to speak before the Committee on the question of East Timor.

I should like to seize this occasion to reiterate to you, Mr. Chairman, as well as to the Special Committee, all the recognition and deep appreciation of the Portuguese Government for the outstanding work of this body in fulfilling the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly in the field of decolonization and, in particular, for all the co-operation granted to Portugal in carrying out its decolonization programme.



#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.

A/AC.109/L.1185/Add.2 10 August 1977

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

#### WESTERN SAHARA

#### Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

#### Addendum

#### 1. Paragraph 2

For the existing text substitute

- 2. The Madrid Declaration was opposed by the Government of Algeria, which accused the Spanish Government of repudiating its obligations with respect to the decolonization of the Territory, violating international law and giving in to external pressures in agreeing to hand over the Territory to Morocco and Mauritania. b/
- 2. Foot-note b/, line 2

For para. 29 read para. 34

3. Paragraph 5

After the first sentence insert

In replies to invitations from the Governments of Morocco and Mauritania to send a representative to attend the deliberations of the <u>Jema'a</u> on the transfer of authority, the Secretary-General said it was evident that "the essential conditions for the implementation <u>/of resolutions 3458 A (XXX)</u> and 3458 B (XXX) have not been fulfilled". c/

#### 4. Foot-note c/

Insert a new foot-note reading

c/ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/31/23/Rev.1), chap. XI, annex I, paras. 47-48.

and reletter former foot-notes  $\underline{c}/-\underline{j}/$  as foot-notes  $\underline{d}/-\underline{k}/$ 

#### 5. Paragraph 17

The first sentence should read

At its fourteenth summit meeting, held at Libreville from 2 to 5 July 1977, the heads of State and Government adopted a decision regarding the holding of an extraordinary summit meeting on the problem of the Sahara.

CENTRAL REGISTRY

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File No: 935/15

Memo No: 436

8 August 1977

Australian Mission to the United Nations, NEW YORK

#### WESTERN SAHARA

Attached for your information is a copy of Paris memorandum 666 of 22 July reporting on an address to the Academie Diplomatique Internationale in Paris by the Moroccan Foreign Minister, Dr Ahmed Laraki.

(M.R. Ovington)
UN Political Section

c.c. Australian Embassy, PARIS

Memo No: 479.

Referred for information. Please copy to UN New York any further reports on this subject.

(M.R. Ovington) UN Political Section

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AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY 75116 PARIS

File: 225/14/1/1

Memo No:

22 July 1977

The Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs, CANBERRA

#### WESTERN SAHARA: MOROCCAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S VIEWS

SESSURES A REACHES On 7 July the Moroccan Foreign Minister, Dr Ahmed Laraki, gave an address to the Académie Diplomatique Internationale in Paris outlining current Moroccan foreign policy. Several statements by Dr Laraki indicated that Morocco's attitude towards Algeria and the Polisario is hardening.

> Dr Laraki maintained in his speech that the Sahara affair was settled and that the Saharan people had expressed their satisfaction at being "reunited" with their brothers and fellow citizens by voting in recent Moroccan elections. There had been an act of self-determination, Dr Laraki said, on 26 February this year through the Saharan representative Assembly, the Jemma. In answer to questions posed after the speech, the Foreign Minister however implied that there had not in fact been an act of self-determination. He said that in the whole history of African decolonisation there had only been one vote of self-determination and this had occurred in the Comoros Islands with unsatisfactory results.

French Topoland, 3. On the subject of the extraordinary OAU summit to discuss bihillummathe Western Sahara, due to be held in Lusaka, Dr Laraki made Russian a statement very similar to the one he had made to the Ambassador in January this year concerning the now aborted Addis Abaha summit. publicate Laraki said that Morocco may go to plead its case before the OAU UN suprision) but before deciding to do so it would examine the conditions for attendance at the summit and whether a quorum could be achieved.

> The Foreign Minister's speech was given the day after the attempted assassination of the Mauritanian Ambassador to France by persons calling themselves members of the "International Mustopha El Ouali Sayed Brigade" (the name of a deceased leader of Polisario). The Polisario Front denied any association with the Brigade or the In answer to a question about the shooting, assissination attempt.

Memo No: OP 301

Accra Cairo Nairobi

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Laraki said that responsibility for it must be sheeted home It was Algeria which had created a climate of terror, Dr Laraki said, and he listed other examples of terrorism committed by Polisario. Dr Laraki said the assassination attempt had "cast" a shadow over the Libreville summit".

- Dr Laraki's harshest criticism of Algeria came in answer to a question about the composition of Polisario. Dr Laraki said that it was not a liberation movement because the OAU had not recognised it as one, it was not a refugee group because it breached the basic prohibitions contained in the OAU's refugee convention about not engaging in political activities. Polisario is, according to the Foreign Minister "just a branch of the Algerian Army composed of Moroccan and Mauritanian dissidents, Saharans kidnapped and held by Algeria and Tuaregs recruited in Mali, Niger and Chad".
- Whilst it would be unwise to accept unreservedly Dr Laraki's description of the Polisario forces, there may nevertheless be an element of truth in his proposition. In January 1976 at Amgala in Morocco, 12 uniformed Algerian soldiers were caputed by Moroccan troops leading to a plausible suspicion by the Moroccans that Algerian military (as opposed to logistic) support was being given to Polisario. Further "evidence" of the nature of Polisario membership was presented on Moroccan television on 14 July in the form of an interview with a Polisario defector Abdi Yahdi. Yahdi said that Algeria was training "mercenaries" in weapon handling and giving them political indoctrination.

7. Copies Algiers, Accra, Cairo, Nairebi.

> (Roland Rich) Third Secretary

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#### AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION

DUN Political Section AUG 5 19 9 911 177 For information support INWARDS File No...235/1.....

Memorandum No. ..532.....

28 July 1977

The Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs, CANBERRA.

C.C. AE, Madrid - Memo. No: OP208
AE, Algiers - Memo. No: OP209
AE, Paris - Memo. No: OP210
AE, UN New York - Memo. No: OP211
AE, Cairo - Nemo. No: OP212

: 167/11/35

#### OAU - WESTERN SAHARA

We refer to Algiers' memorandum 230 of 14 July and 0.AL2003 of 20 July.

- 2. There seem to us to be two identifiable CAU strands of thought on the Western Sahara:
  - (i) that a substantial body of OAU opinion (as much as two thirds according to the Kenyans) disapproves of the Morocco/Mauritanian partition and favours adherence to the OAU Charter's principle of the preservation of former colonial boundaries;
  - (ii) that the Polisario is seen as an Algerian stooge not repsentative of the Saharan people.
- 3. It seems likely that (i) is the majority viewpoint. The voting figures at Mauritius on the Algeria/Benin resolution\* lend credence to this view. On the other hand the general pre-dominance at the Libreville meetings of the more conservative OAU members may portend greater sympathy for Morocco and Mauritania.
- 4. President Kaunda will presumably chair the extra-ordinary summit in Lusaka and thus Zambian attitudes may affect the outcome: Zambia supported the Algeria/Benin resolution at Mauritius.

\*(29 in favour - 2 against - 10 abstentions - 6 absentees - innot participating - see our memorandum 332 of 14 July 1976)

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- Informed abservers believe that the Moroccans and Mauritanians will question at Lusaka the right of the Polisario to speak for the Saharan people. In this regard, the declaration in 1975 of the Polisario as a government-in-exile is seen by many as an error of tactics. This argument has it that many OAU members would be more favourably disposed to Polisario were it a liberation movement rather than a government seeking formal recognition as such. Only a relatively small number of OAU members have so recognised the Polisario about six we think.
- 6. In addition, the dispute will be assessed by many Africans as primarily a conflict between conservative and radical Arabs. Some may wish to avoid involvement and this could lead to either a relatively poor attendance at Lusaka or a reluctance to take sides. This could in turn result in an inconclusive decision.
- The Saharan question remains a very sensitive one and it has the potential to cause very serious division within the OAU. It could also disrupt the recent move at Libreville by moderate OAU states to counter the strident tones of past OAU sessions and to assert themselves over the radicals. Therefore there may be great pressure to reach a compromise in order to avoid an embarrassing spectacle of Heads of State slogging it cut in an atmosphere of mutual insult and recrimination. Given the apparent inflexibility of both sides on the matter, one could perhaps be forgiven for being pessimistic on the outcome.

Paulgue

(Paul Smith) First Secretary

CONTIDERMAN

FOREIGN AFFAIRS LIECTERN SAHARA you may be interested to read these memoranda on the Western Schara. Detriles briefing notes are being prepared for UNGEX 32) 2. I have dontted a memo to UNNY attaching a copy of the Paris memo Manglor

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#### AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY : ALGIERS

For April JUL 26 17 35 PH 177

The Secretary INWARDS Department of Foreign Affairs CANBERRA

WESTERN SAHARA

FILE No. 800/98/1
MEMO No. 230

14 July 1977

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Please refer to our memorandum No.206 of 28 June 1977 and our Monthly Summary for June.

- 2. The decision of the 14th(Libreville) Session of the 0.A.U. Summit, which President Boumediencattended, to hold the long-awaited special summit meeting to consider the Sahara in the first half of October in Lusaka has, naturally, been welcomed here both by the RASD/Polisario and by Algerian spokesmen.
- I hope to get some comment on the background, on Algerian expectations and on the other issues discussed at the Libreville meeting when I see the Director-General of Political Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Algerian press report that the Government of Gabon swung around from expelling the Polisario delegation from Libreville to giving it an official welcome does not tally with the Gabonese Ambassador's version of the events. Further discussion with my African colleagues, including the Zaire Ambassador, also suggests Moroccan/Mauretanian objections are as strong as ever to being put in the dock by the OAU over this issue so that a positive outcome to the Lusaka Summit, if it does in fact take place, seems doubtful to say the least. Renewed Moroccan threats to withdraw from the OAU if it is pressured to accept an Internationally sanctioned act of self-determination for the Saharan people seem to me most likely.
- 4. RASD and Algerian tactics are now apparently to underline the Moroccan/Mauretanian diplomatic "reverse" and to keep
  pressure on the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr Waldheim, to whom the
  Prime Minister of the RASD has again written, to ensure that
  UNGA 32 makes a substantive move on the dispute at the end of
  this year. The outcome of any discussion to the Arab League
  on this issue at the Summit meeting Colonel Ghaddafi is in the
  process of organising, on the other hand, seems to me most
  unlikely to give much comfort to the RASD/Algerian cause.

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There has also been considerable press coverage in Algeria of the latest (second) Polisario attack on the Mauretanian capital of Nouakchott - militarily insignificant and obviously engineered for diplomatic reasons to coincide with the OAU Summit at Libreville - and of the assassination attempt on 8 July on the Mauretanian Ambassador in Paris, allegedly by a Polisario group. The RASD have denied any hand in this attempt which they attribute to Moroccan provocateurs. On the face of it the attempt would seem to have been extraordinarily ill-timed and clumsy, if it had been the work of Polisario sympathisers, and French press comment bringing out this consideration has been strongly endorsed here.

6. We are sending copies of this memorandum to Paris, UN New York, Madrid and Nairobi.

(J.A.D. Piper)
Ambassador

W. h. Political



#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr. LIMITED

A/AC.109/L.1185/Add.1 3 August 1977

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

#### WESTERN SAHARA

#### Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

#### Addendum

Since the preparation of the working paper on Western Sahara (A/AC.109/L.1185), there have been new developments which are summarized in the present addendum.

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A/AC.109/L.1185/Add.1 English Page 2

#### 1. Paragraph 11

#### The first line should read:

11. Thus, for Morocco and Mauritania, which considered that they had acted in accordance with the

#### 2. After paragraph 28, add the following new paragraph:

28a. In response, in a letter dated 28 July 1977, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12374), the Deputy Permanent Representative of Algeria, on behalf of his Government, denied the Mauritanian charges, stating that Mauritania "saw fit, once again, to implicate Algeria, in the wake of the losses that continue to be inflicted on it by ... the Frente POLISARIO."

#### 3. At the end of paragraph 29, add the following new text:

The Frente POLISARIO denied any involvement in that incident, which it described as "a provocation which vainly seeks to discredit the struggle of our people and sow confusion."

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# UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/12374 28 July 1977 ENGLISH ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 28 JULY 1977 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF ALGERIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In a letter dated 7 July 1977 (S/12360), the Permanent Representative of Mauritania to the United Nations, acting on behalf of his Government, saw fit, once again, to implicate Algeria, in the wake of the losses that continue to be inflicted on it by the liberation forces of the Saharan people under the direction of the Frente POLISARIO. Once again, apparently, it must be stated that this manoeuvre of the Mauritanian authorities consists in justifying their military defeats in a conflict which directly opposes them to the Saharan people and in concealing the failure of their policy of annexation by spreading confusion around a problem which in its essence remains a question of decolonization and by creating diversions in order to mask their own responsibilities.

Since the conclusion of the Madrid agreement, which was in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and which flouted all the resolutions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Countries, the policy of the Mauritanian Government has continuously thwarted the legitimate aspirations of the Saharan people by violent means, in particular by the military occupation of their Territory. This occupation, which is a continuation of colonial domination, represents a real challenge to the international community, as well as constituting an aggression against the Saharan people. It has provoked the legitimate reaction of the Saharan people, whose liberation struggle in the field increases in vigour day by day, inflicting heavy daily losses on the foreign forces of aggression and occupation, and thereby giving evidence of their determination to resist and their vitality in combating colonialism. The arguments advanced by the Nouakchott authorities are in every respect faithful to the logic of the oppressor, which consists in distorting a problem of decolonization, changing the basic facts thereof and, in the present case, placing on Algeria the responsibility for the situation, although this first and foremost lies with the Mauritanian Government. The irresponsible manoeuvres and reckless pursuit of policy cannot change the fact of first-degree aggression committed by the Mauritanian authorities, an aggression which is clearly established in the case of any State which directly opposes the self-determination of a people. The origins of the Western Sahara question are sufficiently well known to every State within the international community for the systematic accusations made by the Mauritanian Government not to elicit any response.

In affirming that the Western Sahara case is closed, the Mauritanian Government is seeking to conceal the truth, since the question of Western Sahara remains on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly, in accordance with resolution 31/45 of 1 December 1976 and, furthermore, the decision taken recently at Libreville by the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity to hold a special session at the summit level, in October at Lusaka, devoted to the question of Western Sahara constitutes an unequivocal answer to that Government's assertions. It is quite obvious that this important decision is extremely vexing to the Nouakchott authorities. It was therefore to be expected that they would use every dilatory means to conceal this diplomatic failure and to attempt to discredit the liberation struggle of the Saharan people by deliberately confusing the heroic actions of the Frente POLISARIO combatants in the field with the assassination attempt made by agents provocateurs on a Mauritanian diplomat for the manifest purpose of alienating the steadily growing sympathy which international opinion constantly accords to the liberation struggle of the Saharan people. In any event, Algeria, while reiterating its attachment to peace, remains certain that the only reasonable way of securing a peaceful settlement of the Western Sahara question lies in the implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly, as they alone will permit the Saharan people to exercise freely its inalienable right to self-determination.

In accordance with instructions from my Government, I request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA

Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.
of the Permanent Mission of Algeria
to the United Nations



# UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
LIMITED

A/AC.109/L.1185 22 July 1977

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

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#### WESTERN SAHARA

#### Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

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#### WESTERN SAHARA

#### 1. BACKGROUND

- 1. It will be recalled that on 14 November 1975, the Governments of Spain, Morocco and Mauritania agreed upon a Declaration of Principle also known as the Madrid Agreement, a/ with respect to the Territory of Spanish Sahara. According to the Declaration, Spain would terminate its presence in the Territory no later than 28 February 1976, and would, during the interim period, transfer its powers to a temporary administration, comprising the existing Governor-General and two Deputy Governors to be nominated by Morocco and Mauritania. The Agreement also provided that the Jema'a (General Assembly), which would express the views of the Saharan population, would collaborate with that administration.
- 2. The Madrid Declaration was opposed by the Government of Algeria, which, according to a report, accused the Spanish Government of repudiating its obligations with respect to the decolonization of the Territory, violating international law and giving in to external pressures in agreeing to hand over the Territory to Morocco and Mauritania. b/
- 3. Subsequently, at its thirtieth session, the General Assembly adopted two resolutions on the question of Spanish Sahara. By resolution 3458 A (XXX) of 10 December 1975, the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Spanish Sahara to self-determination, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960; requested the Government of Spain as the administering Power, to take immediately all necessary measures so that all Saharans originating in the Territory might exercise fully and freely, under United Nations supervision, their inalienable right to self-determination; requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Government of Spain and the Special Committee, to make the necessary arrangements for supervision of the act of self-determination; and urged all parties to exercise restraint and to desist from any unilateral or other action outside the decision of the Assembly.
- 4. By resolution 3458 B (XXX) of 10 December 1975, the General Assembly took note of the tripartite agreement concluded at Madrid; reaffirmed the inalienable right to self-determination of all Saharan populations originating in the Territory; and requested the interim administration to take all necessary steps to ensure that all the Saharan population originating in the Territory would be able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination through free consultations organized with the assistance of a representative of the United Nations appointed by the Secretary-General.

a/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975 (S/11880, annex II).

b/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/31/23/Rev.1), chap. XI, annex I, para. 29.

- 5. In accordance with the Madrid Agreement, the Spanish Government completed the withdrawal of its presence in Spanish Sahara on 26 February 1976, without the exercise of the right to self-determination by the population of the Territory as called for by the General Assembly. The withdrawal of Spain and the transfer of authority to Morocco and Mauritania was, however, endorsed by the Jema'a. c/
- 6. On 14 April 1976, Morocco and Mauritania signed an agreement in Rabat establishing a joint Moroccan-Mauritanian commission to carry out the demarcation of the frontier between the two countries. According to the agreement, the frontier between Mauritania and Morocco would be defined by the straight line linking the point of intersection of the 24th parallel north and the 13th meridian west.
- 7. The above-mentioned arrangements were opposed by Algeria and by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO), which had earlier, on 6 March 1976, declared the creation of the "Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR)". d/ SADR was recognized by Algeria on 7 March following which both Morocco and Mauritania broke off diplomatic relations with Algeria. Subsequently SADR was recognized by nine other States. e/
- 8. Developments concerning the Territory during the period under review are summarized briefly below.
  - 2. CONSIDERATION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-FIRST SESSION
- 9. During the general debate in the General Assembly at its thirty-first session, reference to the question of Western Sahara was made by the representatives of Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria.
- 10. In his statement at the 20th meeting, on 6 October 1976, f/ the representative of Mauritania said that Morocco and Mauritania had enabled the Saharan population to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with the procedure defined by paragraph 3 of the Madrid Agreement /that the opinion of the population would be expressed through the Jema'a/, which had been endorsed by the General Assembly /resolution 3458 B (XXX)/.
- ll. Thus, for Morocco and Mauritania, which had acted in accordance with the right recognized as theirs and with the resolution of the United Nations, the principle of self-determination could no longer be invoked for the population of the Territory, as they clearly had chosen to be Moroccan or Mauritanian.

c/ Ibid., para. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>d</u>/ <u>Ibid</u>., para. 60.

e/ Angola, Benin, Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda and Togo.

f/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 20th meeting, pp. 32-34.

12. At the 21st meeting, on 7 October, g/ the representative of Morocco said that the question of Spanish Sahara had been solved in a just and equitable way, but that it had been replaced by the equally delicate and more dangerous question of the relations among the various States of the area arising from diametrically opposed assessments of the question. These differences were creating tensions that were increasingly becoming a matter of concern. Morocco, however, while anxious to reach a peaceful solution had no intention of accepting any renunciation of its legitimate rights. He considered that any discussion of the question of the Sahara at that session would be dangerous, premature and inappropriate, and suggested that the General Assembly should address itself to the problem of the refugees at Tindouf, who he said were there against their will. In his view, the only objective and humane solution to that problem lay in the repatriation of all Tindouf refugees who were natives of the Sahara and that any other solution would tend to increase the state of tension.

13. In a statement before the General Assembly at the 32nd meeting on 14 October h/ the representative of Algeria maintained that, first, there had been no authentic consultation of the Saharan people in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations; second, the Tindouf refugees had not been prevented from returning home by the Algerian Government, but by the situation created by the military occupation of their country; and third, the tension in the region had developed precisely because the Sahara question had not been solved. His Government was therefore convinced that the only guarantee for a true and lasting solution to the problem would be the exercise by the Saharan people of their right to self-determination on the basis of the territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers and by means of an authentic referendum monitored and guaranteed by the United Nations.

14. The question of Western Sahara was subsequently considered by the Fourth Committee. On 11 November 1976, at its 22nd meeting, the Committee heard a statement by Mr. Mohamed Abdelaziz, Secretary-General of the Frente POLISARIO. i/ In his statement, Mr. Abdelaziz said that the Moroccan and Mauritanian claims to the Sahara were invalid and he accused those two countries of taking over the country by military force in disregard of the international status of the Territory, the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and the decisions of the United Nations. He said that the Madrid Agreement was completely illegal and invalid by virtue of its nature, and also because Spain, as the administering Power, was not competent to sign with third States an agreement affecting the destiny of a Territory which did not belong to it. Mr. Abdelaziz said that it was the task of the General Assembly, inter alia, to reaffirm the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence; to vigorously condemn Moroccan and Mauritanian aggression; and to urge the two Governments to withdraw their challenge to the international community.

g/ Ibid., 21st meeting. pp. 43-46.

h/ Ibid., 32nd meeting, pp. 111-117.

i/ <u>Ibid</u>., Fourth Committee, 22nd meeting.

15. On 1 December 1976, the General Assembly, acting on the report of its Fourth Committee, adopted resolution 31/45 on the question of Spanish Sahara. By this resolution, the General Assembly reaffirmed its commitment to the principles of self-determination; took note of the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity to convene an extraordinary session with a view to finding a just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara; decided to postpone consideration of the question until its thirty-second session; and requested the Administrative Secretary of the OAU to inform the Secretary-General of the progress achieved in implementing the decision of the OAU concerning Western Sahara.

#### 3. CONSIDERATION BY THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

16. At its thirteenth summit meeting, held at Port Louis from 2-5 July 1976, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, adopted a resolution on the question of Western Sahara by which it invited all parties concerned and interested to co-operate with a view to achieving a peaceful solution of the conflict in the interest of peace, justice and good neighbourliness. It also decided to hold a special session at the level of Heads of State and Government with the participation of the people of the Western Sahara for the purpose of finding a just and lasting solution to the problem. j/ In April 1977, however, the Frente POLISARIO in a letter to the Chairman of the OAU said that it was "disagreeably surprised" about the delay.

17. At its fourteenth summit meeting, held at Libreville from 2-5 July 1977, the Heads of State and Government adopted a decision on the principle of holding an extraordinary summit meeting on the problem of the Sahara. It was reported that the meeting would be held during the first half of October 1977, at Lusaka.

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18. Press reports indicate that several armed clashes have taken place between the forces of the Frente POLISARIO and those of Morocco and Mauritania. Although these reports are conflicting, on the basis of the available official and non-official accounts, it appears that several localities have been affected by armed confrontations: Smara, Amgala, Argoud, Bu Craa, Bir Moghrein, Dakhla, Mahbes and Lemsaid. In the reports of these confrontations, estimates of losses in personnel and equipment varied widely.

19. A significant example of these clashes took place on 1 May 1977 on Mauritanian soil at the mining centre of Zouerate, the credit for which was claimed by POLISARIO. According to various press reports, two French citizens, members of the French community working for the Mauritanian enterprise Société

j/ For the text of the resolution see A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, and A/31/138-S/12143.

nationale industrielle et minière (SNIM) were killed in the attack by guerrillas of the Frente POLISARIO who were reportedly armed with rockets, machine guns and submachine guns. In addition, six members of this French community, including a woman, were abducted by the attackers and their whereabouts remains unknown. The incident evoked a strong public reaction in France and was the subject of several statements by Mr. Louis de Guiringaud, the Foreign Minister of France. These statements emphasized that France had nothing to do with the Sahara problem and that the Government of France could not accept the use of civilian hostages as a means to pressure France to support the POLISARIO quest for Saharan "independence".

- 20. Following the Zouerate incident, Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, the President of Mauritania, who had condemned the attack, sent delegations to meet with King Hassan II of Morocco and with Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, President of France, at Paris. According to press reports the participants in these meetings sought to find ways to secure the release of the six French hostages unharmed.
- 21. Subsequently it was reported that 276 French employees, out of a total of 700 engaged in work in the mining enterprises in and around Zouerate, had been evacuated out of Mauritania.
- 22. Reports from Frente POLISARIO stated that the Zouerate operation had been planned and executed successfully to accomplish two objectives, one military and one psychological, in order to attract world-wide attention to their "struggle".
- 23. In conjunction with these developments, which are indicative of a heightening of tension in the area, the Deputy Permanent Representative of Algeria, in a letter dated 9 May 1977, transmitted to the Secretary-General the text of a message from Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria (A/32/86, annex). In his message, Mr. Bouteflika said that "the multiplication and intensification of the fighting is evidence, if further evidence were needed, of the determination of the people of Western Sahara and demonstrates to the whole world that there cannot be peace as long as the legitimate and fundamental rights of the Saharan people to self-determination are not achieved". Mr. Bouteflika also stated in his letter to the Secretary-General that "Algeria wishes to reiterate that it is ready for any initiative you may take in association with the administering Power, the legitimate representatives of the people of Western Sahara and the other concerned and interested parties. Action along these lines will provide a solid basis for the advent of a just and durable peace and fruitful co-operation for all the peoples of the region."
- 24. In June 1976, it was reported that Mr. Sayed el-Wali, the Secretary-General of Frente POLISARIO, had been killed in a confrontation with Mauritanian troops. Frente POLISARIO confirmed his death but left the circumstances of the death unclear.
- 25. According to press reports from Madrid, in June 1977, units of the Frente POLISARIO attacked the mine installations of FOSBUCRAA, at Bu Craa. Ten Moroccan soldiers and a Spanish workman were reported to have died during the attack. It was also reported that, following the attack, 129 workmen and technicians of

Spanish origin were withdrawn from Western Sahara and that all operations at the phosphate mines had been stopped.

- 26. These reports have been denied by the Moroccan authorities.
- 27. It will be recalled that the Western Saharan phosphate mines, with reserves estimated at 1.7 billion tons, are transported by means of a 160-mile conveyor belt from the mines of Bu Craa to the port city El Aaiún.
- 28. In a letter dated 7 July 1977, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/12360), the Permanent Representative of Mauritania to the United Nations stated that on 3 July, Nouakchott, the capital of Mauritania had again been attacked. The attack had caused casualties among the civilian population. The Permanent Representative of Mauritania went on to say that this new "act of aggression" had been conceived and prepared by the Algerian authorities. It was further stated in the letter than the Mauritanian Government reserved the right to take whatever measures might be necessary and, in particular, to request, at an appropriate time, a meeting of the Security Council.
- 29. On 7 July, it was reported from Paris that two young gunmen had fired at the Mauritanian ambassador to Paris through the back window of his car. The Ambassador, Mr. Ahmed Ould Ghanahallah, was reported to have been wounded but out of danger.

93015

#### DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

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RESTRICTED

COMMITTEE OF 24: CURRENT SESSION: WESTERN SAHARA

THE COMMITTEE OF 24 ON 4 AUGUST DEALT QUICKLY WITH ITS ITEM ON WESTERN SAHARA. THERE WERE NO SPEAKERS. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE (SALIM) NOTED THE DECISION OF THE LIBREVILLE SUMMIT OF THE OAU AND THE PROBABILITY THAT A SUMMIT OF THE OAU ON THIS QUESTION WILL BE HELD IN LUSAKA IN THE FIRST HALF OF OCTOBER. THEREFORE PROPOSED THAT THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE DEFER CONSIDERATION TO ITS NEXT SESSION IN THE COMING YEAR SUBJECT TO ANY DIRECTIVES IT MAY RECEIVE FROM THE FORTHCOMING GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MIN AND DEPT DEFNECE
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#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

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#### INWARD CABLEGRAM

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FM. ALGIERS /

CONFIDENTIAL

OAU LIBREVILLE SUMMIT MEETING.

ADMJALI DIRECTOR GENERAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS MFA AGREED TO SEE ME 17TH JULY TO COMMENT ON THE OAU MEETING. AND PARTICULARYLY ON DICISION TO HOLD THE SUMMIT ON WESTERN SAHARA IN LUSAKA IN THE FIRST HALF OF OCTOBER.

- 2. ADJALI DESCRIBED THIS DECISION AS AN IMPORTANT STEP WHICH SHOULD BE WELCOMED INTERNATIONALLY IN FACILITATING JUST SOLUTIONS AND CONSIDERATION AT UNGA 32.
- 3. HE APPEARED CONFIDENT THAT MOROCCO AND MAURETANIA WOULD ATTEND AND THAT POLISARIO DELEGATION WOULD BE GIVEN A HEARING AS REPRESENTATIVE OF SAHARAN PEOPLE. ADJALITOLD ME IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT AS A RESULT THE ISSUE WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE DISCUSSED AT GHADDAFI'S PROPOSED ARAB SUMMIT.
- 4. ALGERIA WAS ELECTED AT LIBREVILLE TO THE OAU MISSIONS TO MEDIATE ON LYBIA/CHAD AND ETHIOPA/SOMALIA/SUDAN/ DIFFERENCE AND IS ALSO MEMBER OF THE MISSION TO INVESTIGATE AGAIN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN SPANISH CANARY ISLANDS. ADJALI EMPHASISED ALGERIAN WISH TO AVOID ALL UNDERLINED OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN AFRICA ("UNITED STATES RUSHIAN CHINESE OR FRENCH") AND EXPRESSED STRONG CONCERN ABOUT DISPUTES REFERRED TO ABOVE. IN CONTEXT LIBYA/CHAD HE SAID THERE WAS A REAL DANGER OF AN EGYPTIAN AND MOROCCAN ADVNTURE TO SUPPORT CHAD. ON ERITREA ADJALI SAID BOUMEDIENE HAD CONSELLED RESTRAINT ON MENGISTU AT LIBREVILLE, BUT ASIDE FROM UNAIDED SUPPORT FOR PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS ALGERIANS DO NOT SEEM TO HAVE ANY IDEAS.
- 5. COMMENT (UNDERLINE)
  RENEWED ALGERIAN DIPLOMATIC ACTIVISM IN AFRICA IS

CONFIDENT

CONFIDENT

#### **INWARD CABLEGRAM**

2. 0. AL2003

PUZZLING BUT IS PROBABLY LINKED WITH THEIR EFFORS TO GET AFRICAN SUPPORT ON WESTERN SAHARA. FULL REPORT ON MEETING FOLLOWS BY NEXT SAFE HAND BAG.

....PIPER

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MIN AND DEPT DEFENCE
JIO
PM AND C

ACTION: AME

SEC DEPSECS EX MCO FAS(SEP) FAS(NSA) FAS(WES) ASP EUR FAS(DEF) DP DC HOCI FAS(IOC) IO FAS(PCR) INF FAS(LT) GLT IL FAS(MFS)

u. n. Political



#### UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL



Distr. GENERAL

S/12360 7 July 1977 ENGLISH

ORIGINAL:

LETTER DATED 7 JULY 1977 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MAURITANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On instructions from my Government I have the honour to inform you that on 3 July a band of mercenaries in the pay of the Algerian régime again attacked the capital of our country, causing casualties among the civilian population.

This new act of aggression conceived and prepared by the Algerian authorities is a grave violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of respect for the sovereignty of States and non-interference in their internal affairs. This policy of aggression and intimidation on the part of the Algerian Government likewise constitutes a threat to peace and stability in the region and, going beyond the region, to security in Africa.

The objective of the Algerian authorities is to bend Mauritania to their will in order to use it as an instrument of their policy of hegemony in this North African region. The question of Sahara, which has been settled in accordance with a procedure recommended by Security Council resolutions 377 (1975) and 380 (1975) and approved by the United Nations General Assembly, has actually been invoked by the Algerian régime only to conceal, behind an outwardly respectable appearance, the defence of its sordid interests which are essentially of an economic and political nature.

But the Algerian régime, which has not been able to attain any of its objectives by military and diplomatic means, appears now to be choosing State terrorism as a new means of blackmail. Thus on this very day the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to Paris was the victim of an attack as he was going to his office in his automobile. This is an ignoble act and one of the gravest violations of human rights which a State that claims to be dedicated to the principles of the United Nations could have committed. In doing so the Algerian Government reveals once again its true face, seeking to raise blackmail and political murder to the level of a system in international relations. Today's attempt on the life of the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to Paris, for which the Mauritanian Government holds the Algerian authorities responsible, clearly illustrates this new policy of the Algerian Government. In response to this series of aggressive acts of which Mauritania has been the victim, and the terrorist methods initiated today by the Algerian régime, the Mauritanian Government reserves the right to take whatever measures may be necessary and in particular to request, at the appropriate time, a meeting

S/12360 English Page 2



of the Security Council to consider and put an end to the threat by the Algerian Government to peace and stability in this region of Africa.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter issued as a document of the Security Council.

Moulaye EL HASSEN
Permanent Representative

\_\_\_\_

#### L'enjeu mauritanien

Six otages toujours prisonniers du Front Polisario... André Pautard est remonté avec le président Ould Daddah aux vraies sources de la guérilla des sables, dans laquelle la France est désormais impliquée.

De notre envoyé spécial à Nouakchott

Six otages français — une nouvelle affaire Claustre? - des combats d'embuscade qui peuvent à tout moment reprendre : la guérilla des sables qui s'envenime au flanc du Sahara masque de moins en moins le vrai conflit. Celui qui, au-delà du Front Polisario, oppose l'Algérie au Maroc et à la Mau-

La France, aujourd'hui, s'y trouve impliquée. Alger prend prétexte d'un communiqué du Quai d'Orsay sur le lieu de refuge des agresseurs de Zouérate pour dénoncer « les desseins aventuristes de la France ». Nouvel accroc profond dans les relations franco-algériennes déjà bien mal en point. A Nouakchott, où les Mauritaniens présentent une discrète demande d'aide, le ministre français de la Coopération répond : « Du matériel, oui. Pas des hommes. » Quant aux otages, à la fin de la semaine dernière, le Polisario affirmait seulement qu'ils étaient en bonne santé. Pour leur retour, Alger, qui offre ses « bons offices », veut surtout forcer une sorte de reconnaissance

Le président Mokhtar Ould Daddah avec le ministre français

Ce qui, en fonction de ses liens avec le Maroc et la Mauritanie, la met dans un bel embarras...

Nouakchott. Sous les fenêtres du bureau du chef de l'Etat, au bout de l'avenue de l'Indépendance, moutonne désert. D'une voix résignée, M. Mokhtar Ould Daddah lâche : « Nous sommes agressés par un pays plus fort... Il s'agit d'une guerre qui nous est imposée. Il n'est pas question de capituler. Pour le moment, nous résistons seuls. Mais lorsqu'il ne reste pas d'autre choix que celui de la capitulation ou de la recherche d'un allié, la solution s'impose. Nous ne serions pas les premiers à l'adopter... »

Amer, le président mauritanien. D'un coupe-papier ciselé, il montre, sur la carte du Sahara, les zones de passage des tribus R'Guibat, qui, au mépris des frontières, nomadisent à la recherche d'un point d'eau. « Ce sont les fils du nuage, qui suivent les caprices de la pluie. » Une poignée d'hommes. « S'ils étaient ses seules forces, le Polisario ne serait rien. Mais il y a l'Algérie...

Y avait-il, au Maghreb, alliance plus étroite que celle d'Alger et de Nouakchott, de M. Houari Boumediène et de M. Ould Daddah? Chaque année,

implicite du Polisario par la France.

de la Coopération, M. Robert Galley, à Nouakchott, le 6 mai. le président mauritanien passait ses vacances en Algérie pour y soigner son asthme. Dans son pays, les experts algériens se multipliaient « au point, reconnaît-il, qu'on disait souvent : la Mauritanie est un département algérien ». Lui-même, rêvant d'un grand Maghreb arabe uni, s'employa à favoriser la réconciliation entre le Maroc et l'Algérie. « En juillet 1972, lorsque Hassan II et Boumediène ont signé leur accord sur les frontières, euphorique, j'ai poussé un soupir de soulagement. » Songeur, il ajoute : « Il est vrai que Rabat a toujours différé la ratification de cet accord. Ce qui peut expliquer la réaction des Algériens... »

Le pacte frontalier se scelle lors du sommet de l'O.u.a. à Rabat. Ce jourlà, une autre convention s'établit entre le Maroc et la Mauritanie. Les deux pays conviennent de se partager le Sahara occidental. « Le Roi et moi, dit M. Ould Daddah, nous décidons d'informer Boumediène, et c'est en sa présence que nous échangeons les lettres secrètes de cet accord. Témoin d'honneur, en quelque sorte, le président Boumediène nous exprime sa satisfaction de cette entente... »

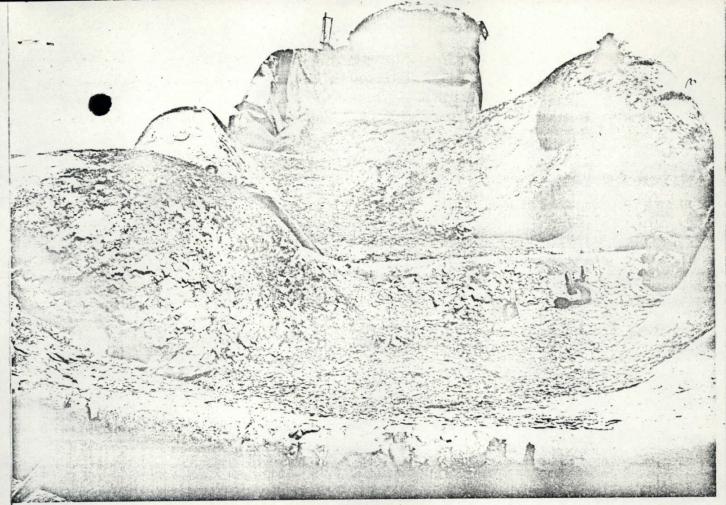
Mais, entre Alger et Rabat, les relations se détériorent. L'Algérie attend toujours la ratification du pacte frontalier. Le Maroc soutient que seul le Parlement peut l'effectuer. « Hassan II m'em... bête », dira un jour le président Boumediène à M. Ould Daddah. Pendant ce temps, les relations algéromauritaniennes restent au beau fixe. « Ce que je ne savais pas, dit le Président, c'est que déjà Alger commen-çait à organiser les mercenaires du Polisario... »

#### « Mokhtar, tu me déçois... »

Le 26 octobre 1974, à Rabat, réunion de la VIII° Conférence du sommet des pays arabes. En séance plénière, le président Boumediène déclare : « Je confirme que l'Algérie n'a aucune revendication sur le Sahara, que sa seule préoccupation reste l'entente entre le Maroc et la Mauritanie. Ils se sont mis d'accord sur la partie du Sahara qui doit revenir à chacun. J'ai été présent lors de cet accord; je l'approuve de tout cœur et sans arrièrepensée... »

La Mauritanie possède l'enregistrement de ce discours. On entend même les rires de l'assistance lorsque le président algérien indique que « son frère Kadhafi » se proposait de « libérer le Sahara ». « Je lui ai répondu, poursuit M. Boumediène, qu'il n'aurait pas l'autorisation de survoler l'Algérie. »

Tout devrait être réglé. Et, pourtant, la brouille algéro-mauritanienne se dessine. Le 10 novembre 1975, le président Boumediène invite M. Ould Daddah à le rencontrer à Béchar. Il lui envoie son avion L'entretien durera près de cinq heures trente. « Boume-



Zouérate, le 6 mai : les citernes d'essence après l'attaque du Front Polisario. Ci-dessous : l'armée mauritanienne prend position dans la ville.



diène, raconte M. Ould Daddah, commence par me dire : « Mokhtar, tu me déçois... Je te demande de ne pas signer comme les Marocains l'accord de Madrid (texte prévoyant le retrait espagnol du Sahara). Il faut te retirer de cette négociation. D'ailleurs, elle n'aboutira pas, car je ne manque pas de moyens de pression sur l'Espagne. Et puis, tu ne dois pas t'allier avec le Maroc féodal et réactionnaire contre l'Algérie révolutionnaire... »

« Moi, poursuit-il, je lui fais observer que l'intérêt de la Mauritanie est d'agir avec le Maroc. J'ajoute : « Cette affaire risque de déclencher une guerre. Mais nous, les plus pauvres et les plus faibles, nous ne pouvons rien. » Bou-

mediène, alors, me flatte en soulignant l'importance géopolitique de mon pays, le poids de mon autorité. Je lui réponds : « Non, la Mauritanie ne renoncera pas au Sahara pour faire plaisir à l'Algérie. »

#### « Fais attention, ils vont t'avaler... »

« Il me promet ensuite : « Si tu as peur du Maroc, je peux te défendre... » Je reste ferme : « Tu me demandes l'impossible... » Il change alors de ton et menace : « Ton pays est faible, fragile, avec de longues frontières difficiles à défendre. Nous avons décidé, envers et contre tous, de soutenir les Sahraouis, au nom de la solidarité révo-

lutionnaire. Nous allons mettre à leur disposition tout ce que nous possédons. Et, s'il le faut, nous permettrons l'engagement de volontaires algériens, cinquante, cent mille même, pour occuper le Sahara. Ils pourront aussi t'attaquer à l'intérieur de tes frontières, détruire tes installations économiques et même atteindre ta capitale... » Il reviendra à la charge en évoquant les ambitions marocaines : « Fais attention, ils vont t'avaler... » La réunion s'achève. Aucun des deux n'a cédé.

« Moins d'un mois après, le 5 décembre, conclut M. Ould Daddah, nous subirons, en trois points du territoire, la première attaque algérienne contre la Mauritanie... » ANDRÉ PAUTARD

# POLISARIO AND WESTERN SAHARA

# territory T search of

by Dominique Pouchin

First of two articles

douf, in Southern Algeria, the fourth anniversary of its armed struggle to liberate Western Sahara, which has now been officially divided up between Morocco and Mauritania. The Front has set up THE Polisario Front (the Western Sahara Liberation Front) celebrated on May 20 and 21 at Tina government (its premiar is Mohamed Lamine) and an elaborate administrative organisation for looking after and indectrinating the refugees who fled into Algeria when the Moroccans and Mauritanians took over from the Spanish.

HAOUSA REGION - The long rides are over. Gone the days of high adventure, like making it from Tindouf to the Atlantic and back in a week. Have trying to prove too much to visitors sion of themselves as guerrillas who strewn sand, then fall back on the safe sanctuary offered by their "Algerian the Polisario soldiers realised that by with their crazy rides across the desert they were giving a misleading impresmake long forays across the boulderbrothers"?

abandonment, the Sahrawi fighters that nobody could stop them from porary, withdrawal did not mean They certainly more than proved moving about the desert. Previously isted and that a necessary, but temthat the land, their land, is also occupied by them and right under their forced to show the world that they exare now anxious to show much more -enemies' noses

to the ble to go. You'll see we aren't bluffing, that we are everywhere . . . . But the round trip to within sight of El Aioun, moving from one unit to another, from one zone to the next, from relay station to rear base, takes up to about three There was plenty of encouragement. It's possi-Atlantic. For lack of time; that's all. No, we wouldn't go down keep going. "Go farther,

out you won't learn anything from a "You've got to live with our fighters 'It's easy enough to organise a conto understand our struggle," said Salem Ould Salek, the Sahrawi government's information minister. voy and take you down to the ocean,

from France via Rabat, other heavy field pieces and more Land Rovers, - right at the end a hole surrounded by flat stones the well. Mustapha said with a smile: "That one there, I'm sure the And there are lots more like it. Last year they were saying they had cut us Moroccans never dreamed it existed off from our sources of water." patched-up huts and

The base had just been set up. Only the night before it was some distance away. But for the past three days, after an absence of a month, Moroc-Between 1100 and 1200 hrs, F-5s buzzed about swiftly at great heights, been busy. occasionally dropping a few bombs. can planes had again

"Of course they know we're around here," a guerrilla told me, "but never exactly where. They try to spot us, but don't dare come down too low. They bomb anything they see moving. Yesterday it was three donkeys at a well." Was this bragging? The Polisario fighters don't like to admit that the surveillance from the air and the intermittent bombing are weakening or hampering them.

At any rate, it's clear they are hardly upset by it. At the first sound of a plane's drone, they hide — if the area is suitable - the vehicle under the nearest tree, and the crew will disperse, each man taking to a separate If they are surprised on open ground, they stop dead so that their tracks may be covered over by the cloud of dust raised by the wheels, and everybody waits till the danger is over. Usually the mobility of the bases and the dispersal of fighters in small units are sufficient protection from bush.

seriously by Mustapha when I asked mander. Nobody is taken in by that, of course. You don't post soldiers, disperse units or move camp on the whims and fancies of all and sundry. more him to take me to the "base" Mustapha's quip betrayed

tribute the least privilege to a the young guerrilla. They all dip their fingers in the same tin bowl to eat like than an evident desire not to give anything away concerning the Liberation Front's organisation and logistics. It was also clear he did not want to at-"natural" hierarchy based on skills or individual abilities. When at nightfall the wadi turns into a bivouac there is nothing to tell the teacher from his pupils or the anonymous leader from ordinary Sahrawis a whitish paste condensed milk and fat. It's a great day when they manage to bag a cow. This is the maquisards' life as they made from bread baked in the sand,

wait for the enemy to show himself But if the Sahrawi are to be believed

the "good opportunities" are becoming more and more rare. "Previously they used to go to earth, now they bury themselves," quipped calm in the area. In fact, it would one of them to explain the apparent seem that Hassan's army has dug enough shelters in most of the villages strung along the trail from Mahbes to El Aioun to take much of the sting out of the guerrilla shelling. In Houssa, at least, the guerrillas have practically abandoned the idea of

So the only thing to do is wait for the enemy to come out, which he rarely does; but he must at least come out to an aumilias Than things hannen

ALGÉRIE A ---- Desert routes MAROC Cancer Gara Djehile MAURITANIE R SMARA SAGUIA BIT Lahi 30 kilometres ==== Roads np ¥ 100 Amgala EL HAMRA EL AIOUN Bir-Moghrein H Ifnix A S Taho Hagunia F.Derick L'FUERTEVENTURA" Guelta- Zemmour **ELANZARDTE** OCCIDENTAL Atar Bou Craa PHOSPHATES Jias Palmas Cap Jub SAHARA Anussert 0 0/3 -ILES CANARIES Santa-Cruz Al Aouina -Cap Bojador 0 GRANDE-CANARIE Güera Nouadhibou Dakhla TATLANTIQUE OCEAN TENERIFE - SLA PALMA COMERA Bla

Army are not necessarily the same as those of the Spanish Army." That the only one) by pointing out that "the strategic imperatives of the Royal may be fine, but to let the enemy conan area which isolates Mahbes hostile boulder-strewn place? Having from the rest of the territory? What was the Spanish Legion doing in this a vacation?

## People's congress

A loud-hailer with a high-pitched nasal sound hid half the face of the young woman standing up in the mid-dle of the huge tent. She finished her brief harangue somewhat out of breath. "In order to safeguard and exwe must combat the weakest elements, the least determined, those who show themselves to be lacking in conviction in the day-to-day struggle." This was greeted with a chorus of you-yous from the right where over 200 women tend what our revolution has achieved, sat cross-legged on mats, nodding ap-

of a government in exile all ready to function. leave a single fighter or refugee out of reveals the presence of not only the rules of community life of a refugee people, but especially the machinery fact only by its determination not to If you asked, at a desert who was a member of the Polisario and who was not, you were likely to be greeted with looks of astonishment. And for good reason, too. Closer examination of the organisation of just one of these camps stitutional vacuum is paralleled its ranks. camb,

ly characterised the hasty establishment of reception and aid centres when thousands of families stripped of all their belongings arrived in the Tindouf region, faded away as political and administrative order began to Today, under the guidance of the Front, this order regulates day-to-day life and provides the basis for the authority of an embryonic state. The camps, scattered The empiricism, which had naturaltake shape.

moving from one unit to another, from one zone to the next, from relay station rear base, takes up to about three

said but you won't learn anything from a "You've got to live with our fighters government's information minister. 'It's easy enough to organise a con-Salem Ould Salek, the Sahrawi voy and take you down to the ocean, understand our struggle, 07

The wobbly Land Rover, war booty burnt out the scrawny vegetation in the wadi (gully) of the Hamra. monotonous landscape of greyish stones and now before us was a sand ny bushes. Six bone-dry years had captured from the Moroccan Army, had just left the depressing and trail picked out with humps and thor-

The ancient Land Rover stopped, and our guide announced "You're there," a finger pointing towards a shack made of canvas and flour bags sewn together and slung over the ding not to notice our perplexity, the few men who received us did not say a branches of a half-dead tree. Pretenword until the ritual three glasses of had been ceremoniously and unhurriedly drunk.

joined the Sahara Liberation Front to fight the Spanish. Today, at 22, he commands his own unit which creeps Mustapha was waiting for us, seated in a shady corner between a box of Soviet-made ammunition and a quite recently been a nomad trekking between cities and waterholes bartering camels bought in far-off places for food and clothes that he resold at halts on desert routes. He learnt French in schools at Atar and Nouakchott, then Belgian light machinegun seized durskinned son of the desert had until the last ambush. This darkfrom trail to wadi as it stalks Moroccan troops.

never been there, like nearly all the others we met at this base some 30 that brought us from the camps in Algeria to this neck of the desert. It was all there, but I hadn't seen a thing. As bush fighters in a bush that's has base did I say? But where is it? I had my eyes wide open as we walked the kilometre of the long journey rather thin on the ground, the Sahrawi expert at camouflage. Here and stood a Mauritanian jeep equipped sprucing up, a 12.7 mm machinegun there, hidden in a hollow of a thicket, with a 106 mm cannon, a mortar gun that the guerrilla who manned it was kilometres southeast of Haouza. He doesn't know Algeria and

if the area ile under the rew will dis-William of the treatment of a plane's drone, they hide — if the area is suitable — the vehicle under the bush. If they are surprised on open ground, they stop dead so that their the the dispersal of fighters in small units are sufficient protection from the danger in the sky. 'Nonetheless, the movement of very long convoys in broad daylight is hampered by perse, each man taking to a separate everybody waits till the danger is over. Usually the mobility of the bases and cloud of dust raised by the wheels, and bombers and recontracks may be covered over by nearest tree, and the crew will naissance planes. patrolling

oblique rays of the sun still burned the men all dressed alike in pale ochre these days before dawn, with the lights off and no moon. The Sahrawi can see in the dark like cats. At 1600 hrs the dry Hamra gully, but things were coming to life around the hutments. It was instruction time for the units resting at the base. Seated in a circle around a sand dune, 50 young and old No matter. We would travel on jellabas that blended with the colour of the sand listened to an instructor in a camouflage suit standing in the midscrawled on a makeshift blackboard A map of the area had a painted plank.

### Lesson a day

Koranic formulas still hold sway: one by one the guerrillas would get up as the instructor called out their names and reel off the lesson they had learnt recited over and over again to the teacher — a former veteran of the place in a nearby class where, sheltered between two trees, the men far reached the bush, where the old that day. The same thing was taking nomadic desert police in the days of the Spanish colony - the elementary pedagogical revolution course in military training:

is the basis of political, and cultural awareness and elevates the organisational level so that the spirit "Strengthening the organisation in cipline and respect for regulations. It of the national revolutionary soldier the army requires revolutionary dismay be born."

To judge by what was said by those Respect? Discipline? Regulations? who received us you would look vain for signs of a hierarchy.

ii.

"There's nobody and everybody between the defence minister and the men who are here," I was told quite

that Hassan's army has dug enough shelters in most of the villages strung along the trail from Mahbes to El Aioun to take much of the sting out of the guerrilla shelling. In Houssa, at the area. In fact, least, the guerrillas have pabandoned the idea of seem

does; but he must at least come out to take on supplies. Then things happen very quickly. The small guerrilla units notebook. The ambush will take place So the only thing to do is wait for the enemy to come out, which he rarely scattered around join up; the men resting in the rear put aside pencil and at the spot and the time the quisards have chosen.

unit escorting a convoy of some 60 trucks going to El Aioun for supplies. The tactic is simple and the objective obvious: to zero in on the enemy and cut his lines of communication Accounts given by prisoners, whom I met later in the Algerian desert, testify to the fact that this is roughly the way things always happen. Mohamed Lahbib, 40, a Moroccan from Tetuan, was called up in February 1976 (enlistment number: 2943). He had been at the Gueltafor six months when on March 27 he had to join a Zemmour garrison

large-scale exodus of rerugees towards the Tindouf region. In March last year the Moroccans and Mauritanians were boasting they controlled the area between them. It is true they con-trolled — apart from El Aioun, Smara and Dakhla (formerly Villa Cisneros) whenever possible. Here the Sahrawis - nearly all the villages, guard posts questionably salvaged a situation which had become precarious after the have in the space of a year unand communal watering points.

El Aioun passes by this lunarscape which overlooks the whole area. "Liberated territory," announced But times have changed. What was once the Farsia military camp is now a ruin on a denuded windswept hill. The only trail linking Mahbes, near the Algerian border, with Smara and

before the "green march" got going in proudly the Sahrawi accompanying us. Yet the Moroccans had occupied the place (as well as Jdiria and Housa farther to the west) even November 1975.

the Polisario men, "and they gave up "But they couldn't stand up to our harrassing and bombardment," said

donment of some camps (Farsia is not the ground in May 1976."
"Rabat prefers to explain the aban-

priched s of the young woman standing up in the middle of the huge tent. She finished her harangue somewhat out of breath. "In order to safeguard and exwe must combat the weakest elements, themselves to be lacking in conviction in the day-to-day struggle." This was greeted with a chorus of you-yous from the right where over 200 women sat cross-legged on mats, nodding ap-proval of their "sister." Loud cheers also came from the left where a group of 50 men — dignitied enters war.
flowing white beards, and fighters taktend what our revolution has achieved, the least determined, those who show ing time off to rest - completed the sound hid half the face audience.

political bureau — who thanked the militant lady for her contribution. Fif-"veterans" took the loud-hailer in less people's war and the masses struggle." Outside the tent three old militiamen carrying Soviet rifles on their shoulders and a teenager stiff in a than an hour to emphasise in a the away noisy children who came too A rickety table covered with a piece of black cloth stood on the dais, and seated at it was the chairman of the meeting - a member of the Pelisario's Spanish army fatigue jacket shooed close. All around, the camp appeared to have been turned over to chickens and a few sun-dazed goats turning around the posts to which they were monotonous sing-song style 'wonderful achievements of tethered.

Everybody was there in the tent attending the "people's congress of Dakhla Vilaya base" which had begun that morning.

at least - of the Algerian border, 500,000 refugees (according to tising democracy. Not the Western brand of democracy, for traditions in this part of the world have never given rise to deputies or parliament. This is a Front-regulated democracy, which claims to be direct and is plainly imposed. But there is no doubt that it the Polisario) are learning and pracasks for and gets everybody's par-Within the safety provisionally ticipation.

Moroceans and Mauritanians in their turn hastened to run up their own. The Front's eagerness to fill any kind of in-The moment chosen to proclaim the ment was revealing - the very day in February 1975 when the former colonial power lowered its flag and the "Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic" and name the members of its govern-

regulates day-to-day and provides the basis for the au. It of an em-bryonic state. The camps, scattered over the rock-strewn landscape and sited close to rare watering holes, have units), each bearing the name of the village from which the refugees ment of reception and aid centres and administrative order began to become dairas (smail administrative originated (they have been grouped together so as not to destroy their ly characterised the hasty establishwhen thousands of families stripped of all their belongings arrived in the Tindouf region, faded away as political take shape. Today, under the guidance of the Fract, this order The empiricism, which had naturalformer community ties).

meeting once every two years. "All the people" then have a say, by proxy, in the "party" (the political bureau and the executive committee) instructions tant of the Front. Grouped together in mittees operate at the daira level and are all headed and directed by the various ministries of a government, itself named by the Revolutionary Basically, every Sahrawi is a mili-11-man cells, the refugees have to discuss its orientations at "people's congresses" which elect their representatives to the "general congress" Simultaneously, however, every militant in a cell - except the secretary of a "people's committee" for health, education, home crafts, security, transport or supplies. These com-Command Council, which at the mo-ment is none other than the Front's exand his assistant - is also a member flowing from the "supreme ecutive committee.

parent institutional balance is only a redistribution of responsibilities. "Our institutions," said Marfoud Laroussi, minister of the interior and a top Cabinet is an executive body applying the Revolutionary Council's instructions in the administrative sphere. The Front's political bureau organises and provides the driving force and leadership for mobilising popular a surprisingly dynamic organisation to So the circle is complete. The apto our debate from the level of the local concombination is rather fragile and theoretical, but at least it has enabled be set up inside the camps, while en-suring the presence everywhere of the gress up to the general congress." Polisario leader, "correspond Front and its leadership. struggle in its present

(May 25, 26: to be continued)

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# UNPED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



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Thirty-second session
Item 24 of the preliminary list\*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Letter dated 9 May 1977 from the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a message addressed to you by His Excellency Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Member of the Council of the Revolution, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, on the question of Western Sahara.

On instructions from my Government, I would request you to arrange for it to be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under item 24 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA

Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the
Permanent Mission of Algeria
to the United Nations

<sup>\*</sup> A/32/50/Rev.1.

#### ANNEX

#### Message addressed to the Secretary-General by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria

Since the conclusion of the Madrid Agreement of 14 November 1975 and the division of the territory of Western Sahara, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and in disregard of the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, in particular resolution 3458 (XXX), the Saharan people have continued to intensify their struggle and to affirm their determination to uphold their inalienable right to self-determination.

Faithful to the action of the United Nations, the Non-aligned Group of the Organization of African Unity has been constantly preoccupied with the situation created in Western Sahara and has reaffirmed the fundamental rights of the Saharan people. Thus, at the Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity held in Mauritius, in view of the importance of the events taking place in Western Sahara, it was decided to hold a special summit meeting devoted to the question of Western Sahara with the participation of the struggling Saharan people.

Particularly desirous of promoting a solution in conformity with the policy laid down by the United Nations, Algeria has actively co-operated in the mission of your special envoy, Ambassador Rydbeck, who was given this task under resolution 3458 (XXX). Algeria can only emphasize with regret the negative attitude of the Moroccan and Mauritanian authorities, which has led to the interruption of the Rydbeck mission. This obstacle to the action of the United Nations was added to other obstacles placed in the way of a peaceful settlement of the problem of Western Sahara. Today, the multiplication and intensification of the fighting is evidence, if further evidence were needed, of the determination of the people of Western Sahara and demonstrates to the whole world that there cannot be peace as long as the legitimate and fundamental rights of the Saharan people to self-determination are not achieved.

In view of the breadth and success of this liberation struggle and in order to conceal the setbacks in their policy of annexing the territory of Western Sahara, the Governments of Rabat and Nouakchott are seeking to justify their military reverses by making direct accusations against Algeria. In this context, and to forestall any attempt to widen the conflict so as to conceal the real nature of a struggle in which the Saharans are fighting the new occupiers, Algeria has always tried to limit the problem to its fundamental dimensions.

The acute awareness and the interest which you have always shown, as Secretary-General of the United Nations, in this problem, the grave risks of an extension of the conflict to which the intrigues of a non-African State have given rise and the responsibilities of the United Nations in this question of decolonization make it essential to reconsider initiatives for implementing the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly which will allow the effective

exercise by the Saharan people of their right to self-determination. For its part, Algeria wishes to reiterate that it is ready for any initiative you may take in association with the administering Power, the legitimate representatives of the people of Western Sahara and the other concerned and interested parties. Action along these lines will provide a solid basis for the advent of a just and durable peace and fruitful co-operation for all the peoples of the region.

With due regard for the special responsibilities of the United Nations in this question of decolonization, the efforts you may wish to make to ensure the return of international legality cannot in any way run counter to the action of the Organization of African Unity, which has decided to hold a special summit meeting devoted to the question of Western Sahara, with the participation of the representatives of the Saharan people. The action of the Organization of African Unity is within the field of application of the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity and in strict conformity with their respective Charters.

(Signed) Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA

Member of the Council of the Revolution

Minister for Foreign Affairs of the

People's Democratic Republic

of Algeria

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